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THE HISTORY OF VANDALIA.

CONTAINING THE

ANTIENT AND PRESENT STATE

OF THE

COUNTRY of MECKLENBURG;

Its REVOLUTIONS under

The VANDALS, the VENEDI, and the SAXONS;

WITH THE

SUCCESSION and MEMORABLE ACTIONS of its SOVEREIGNS.

By THOMAS NUGENT, LL.D.
And Fellow of the Society of ANTIQUARIES.

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for placing the CUTS.

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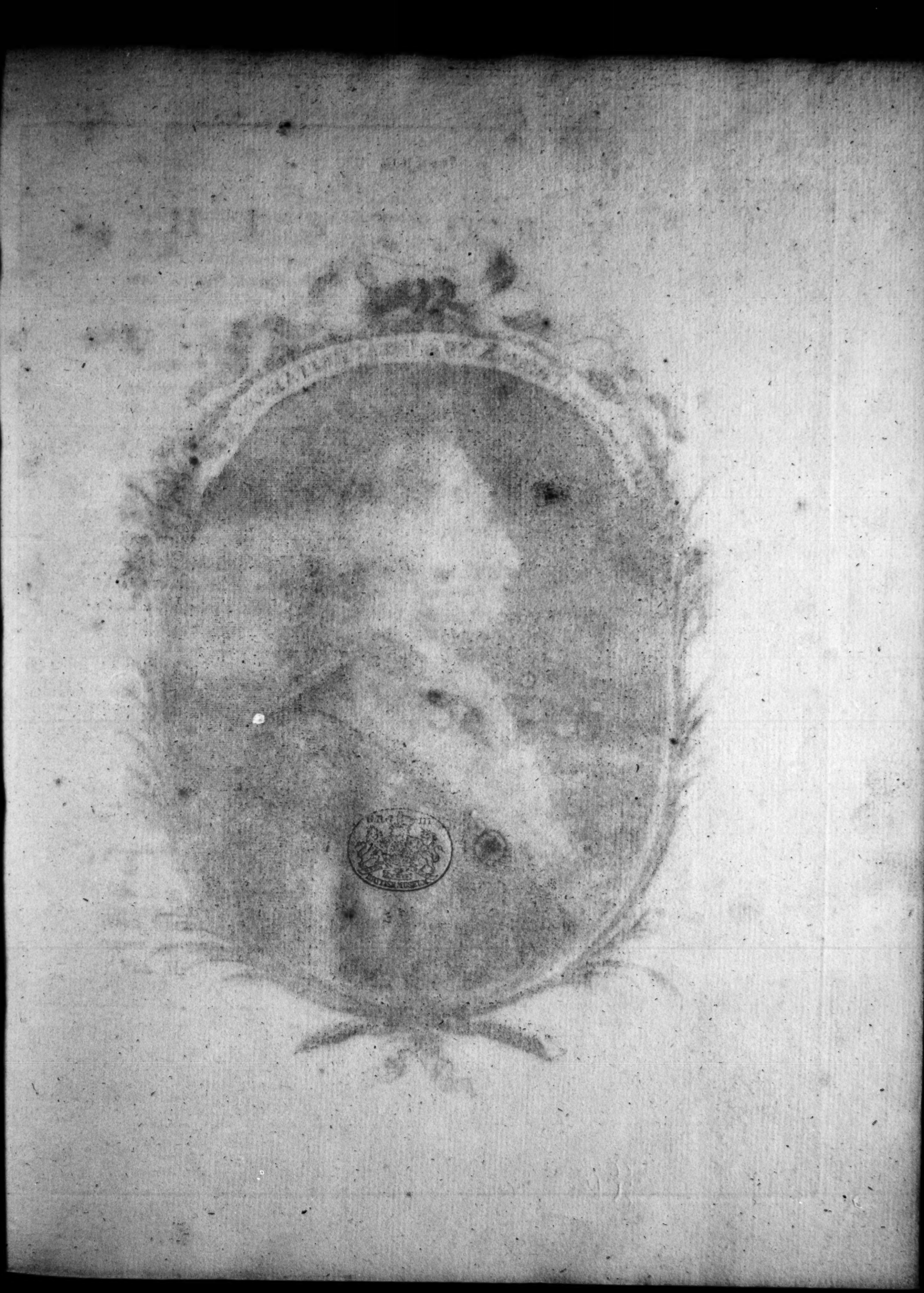

GEORGE THE THIRD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c. &c. &c.

HISTORY
OF
VANDALIA.

BOOK V. Continued.

CHAP. V.

HENRY VII. and ALBERT VII. DUKES of MECKLENBURG.

From 1503 to 1552.

The first dawn of the Reformation in Mecklenburg. Compact of inheritance with Saxe Lawenburg. Affairs of the empire and religion. Change of the military establishment in Germany. Dispute concerning the regency, between duke Albert and his brother Henry. Union of the States. Agreement of Wismar. Progress of the Reformation in the North. Origin of the name of Protestants. Conduct of duke Henry and his brother. Confession of Augsburg.

THE fair dawn of the Gospel light had already appeared in the hemisphere of Mecklenburg. The eager desire which the inhabitants of that country had conceived of being freed from the papal yoke, displayed itself in the most conspicuous manner, even before Luther had begun to pour out the

1517. Dawn of the Reformation in Mecklenburg.

torrent of his eloquence againſt the abuſe of indulgences. A prieſt, named Nicholas Ruſſe, attempted to inculcate in private in 1516, the ſame doctrine, which Luther openly promulged the enſuing year. He was apprehended, and expelled the city; but returning ſoon after, he was baniſhed once more, and obliged to retire to Livonia. Even in 1517, juſt before Luther appeared upon the ſtage, a ſtudent of Roſtock publicly went about the town, exhorting the people to abjure their religious errors; and predicting with great vehemence, that the fall of Antichriſt was at hand. But as it was not till the year 1523, that the Reformation made any conſiderable progreſs, under the auſpices of duke Henry, we ſhall defer entering into a farther diſcuſſion of that memorable event, and continue our account of the civil adminiſtration, and political tranſactions of the dukes of Mecklenburg *.

1518. Compact of inheritance with Saxe Lawenburg.

The year after Luther had begun to ſound the trumpet of the Goſpel, duke Henry renewed the compact of inheritance with the houſe of Saxe Lawenburg, in conſequence of which, the dutchy of that name ſeemed to be fully ſecured to the dukes of Mecklenburg: the imperial court however, in proceſs of time, ſet aſide this agreement and granted that very territory to the elector of Saxony, who ſold it, in 1697, for ſix hundred thouſand crowns to the houſe of Hanover. The princes of the empire had thus a right of concluding compacts of inheritance with each other; but the imperial court could ſuperſede the expectancy †.

Affairs of the empire and religion.

This ſame year was held a diet at Augſburg, where the ſtates of Germany renewed their complaints againſt the papal exactions: here alſo they debated the affair of Luther. The emperor Maximilian deſired the pope to pronounce ſentence in this important cauſe, which was committed to the management of cardinal Cajetan. Luther appeared at Augſburg under the emperor's ſafe conduct; but finding himſelf in danger, he retired in the night, and appealed from the pope's legate to a general

* Backmeiſter, Buckholtz, Behr, &c.
† Chemn. Behr, Franck.

council. The emperor Maximilian did not long ſurvive this diet; for, repairing to Inſpruck, he was ſeized with a fever, of which he died at Lintz in 1519. His grandſon Charles, king of Spain, preſented himſelf as a candidate for the imperial dignity, and was elected at Frankfort in 1519, at the age of nineteen; this was the renowned emperor Charles V *.

First uſe of poſt-horſes in Germany.

It was under the emperor Maximilian that the uſe of poſt-horſes was firſt introduced into Germany, by the care of Francis de la Tour Taxis; but the poſt-office was not firmly eſtabliſhed till the reign of the emperor Matthias, when the houſe of Taxis obtained the dignity of hereditary poſt-maſter of the empire. Maximilian was alſo the firſt who conferred the title of prince of the empire on foreigners, without the inveſtiture of fiefs.

Change of the Military eſtabliſhment in Germany.

Under the ſame emperor the military eſtabliſhment of Germany had aſſumed a new and more advantageous form. Till the reign of Sigiſmund, who died in 1437, each prince and ſtate aſſiſted the emperor with an indefinite number of troops, which at the expiration of the campaign, returned to their own country. Thus the war was always carried on by new levies; and only the heavy cavalry, conſiſting of nobility, were regularly trained to the uſe of arms. Sigiſmund was fully ſenſible of this inconvenience, and in order to remedy it, introduced the matricular taxes at the diet of Newburg, which preſcribed to each ſtate, the number of troops, the artillery, and the ſums of money it was obliged to furniſh for its quota: this eſtabliſhment was adopted by his ſucceſſors. Frederick III. of the houſe of Auſtria changed it in ſome reſpect, through a motive of avarice; he excuſed the ſtates from ſupplying him with troops, but demanded the ſums neceſſary for the ſupport of an army, while he determined to have none. Maximilian alſo preferred pecuniary ſubſidies to men, but employed a great part of the ſums granted him by the ſtates, in maintaining a body of regular forces, armed with long pikes, from

* Seckendorff, Heiſſe, Pfeffel, Puffend.

whence they received the name of Lantzknechts, in French Lanſquenets, which ſignifies Lance-men *.

Diſpute about the regency between duke Albert and his brother Henry.

While the electors were employed in giving a new head to the empire, the two brothers, dukes of Mecklenburg, were at variance with each other, on account of the adminiſtration of their dominions. Duke Henry, who was naturally inclined to peace, and ſenſible, that on fraternal concord depended the welfare of the ſtate, ſeemed deſirous of continuing the joint regency; but duke Albert not having perhaps the ſame weight and authority with the people as his brother, and imputing this to the want of a proper ſhare in the executive part of government, inſiſted on an abſolute partition. The affair was however compromiſed in 1520 by the mediation of Bogiſlaus duke of Pomerania: it was determined that they ſhould divide the whole country, but that the partition ſhould be alternately exchanged every two years; and that they ſhould reign in conjunction over the nobility and ſixteen of the principal towns. Duke Albert thinking himſelf injured by this regulation, ſoon preferred a complaint to the imperial court againſt his brother; and obtained, in 1523, an imperial mandate, for an abſolute partition. But before this mandate could reach the dutchy of Mecklenburg from the kingdom of Spain, where the emperor Charles at that time reſided, the ſtates of the country concluded the famous union of 1523, by which the abſolute partition was prevented.

1523. Union of the ſtates.

By this compact of union, the ſtates paying all due ſubmiſſion to their ſovereigns, the dukes of Mecklenburg engaged to maintain and ſupport their legal rights and privileges; to defend any of their members, who might be unjuſtly oppreſſed; to redreſs all grievances; to grant no protection nor ſhelter to the aggreſſor; and to form themſelves into one inſeparable body, in order to promote thoſe ſalutary purpoſes. This ſeemed to be merely an act of the ſtates of the whole dutchy, in imitation of one paſſed by thoſe of Wenden in 1436; that their country ſhould never more be divided. At the ſame time this proceeding is juſtly

* Barre, Pfeffel.

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conſidered as a proof of duke Henry's ſkill in political affairs. Senſible of his brother's complaints to the imperial court againſt the joint adminiſtration, and foreſeeing perhaps what kind of ſentence he was to expect from Spain, he would fain have rendered it impracticable in the execution: the moſt effectual way to compaſs this end, was to plead the act of union. This act muſt therefore have paſſed with his conſent, otherwiſe it would have been conſidered as of no effect with regard to the dukes, whoſe prerogatives the ſtates did not attempt to invade. But ſtill it is difficult to conceive, how it could bind his brother, who was abſent at the time, and had no way given his aſſent to any ſuch regulation *.

Duke

* The great union or incorporation of the ſtates in 1523, being now looked upon as one of the fundamental laws of the country, we ſhall give a tranſlation of the act or inſtrument itſelf, for the ſatisfaction of the curious.

The Great Union or Incorporation of the States, in 1523.

WE the prelates, men, and towns of the principality and countries of Mecklenburg, Wenden, Roſtock, and Stargard, do in and by theſe preſents, openly declare for ourſelves, our heirs and deſcendants: whereas in theſe times there have been many tumults and diſturbances, and more are daily to be apprehended; we therefore, after maturely weighing the neceſſity of preventing them as far as poſſible, have been induced for the glory and praiſe of Almighty God, and for the honour, advantage, and welfare of the illuſtrious high-born princes and lords, lord Henry and lord Albert, brothers, dukes of Mecklenburg, princes of Wenden, counts of Schwerin, lords of the countries of Roſtock and Stargard, our gracious lords, and of the countries and people belonging to them, to unite and conduct ourſelves in the following manner: that we will preferably to all things, pay a dutiful and willing ſubmiſſion to the ordinances and commands of our above gracious lords, as we are in duty, honour, and juſtice, bound to ſupport their princely highneſſes and their heirs and ſucceſſors: we ſhall endeavour to ſee juſtice done to every body, and that the ſeveral orders of this ſtate be more carefully defended, ſupported, and maintained, in all their privileges, immunities, and antient cuſtoms; and if it ſhould happen, that all or any of us be unjuſtly aggrieved, hurt, or oppreſſed in our above privileges, immunities, and antient cuſtoms, we will readily and chearfully with all lawful and reaſonable aid, ſuccour, counſel, and advice as far as in us lies, oppoſe ſuch unjuſt oppreſſion, and redreſs every grievance: and if any one ſuffer by any of the above-mentioned unjuſt acts of violence and oppreſſion, we will with our joint ſtrength and ſupport, diſcharge our duty, indemnify ſuch perſon, and bear him harmleſs, in ſuch a manner as to the prelates, men, and towns, it ſhall ſeem fit, till he has obtained public juſtice and reparation of the injury: we ſhall alſo diligently uſe our endeavours that peace and

concord

Diſpute about the regency continued.

Duke Albert upon his return from Spain, acquainted his brother with the emperor's decree for dividing the province, the execution

concord be encouraged and preſerved among us; neither ſhall we tolerate or harbour any preſumptuous infringers of juſtice and equity, whoſe actions may be detrimental to the community or any of our members: but to all who ſhall readily ſubmit to the laws of equity and juſtice, our towns, fortreſſes, and houſes, ſhall be open for their refuge in caſe of neceſſity. We ſhall laſtly endeavour that aſſiſtance be given to thoſe who complain of oppreſſion in ſuch place or town as they may ſtand in need of counſel or aid, at their expence. Arbitrators of this affair we have jointly nominated and choſen, from among the prelates, our moſt clement lord the biſhop of Schwerin, or his highneſs's vicar, the abbot of Dobberan, and the dean of the cathedral of Schwerin: from the equeſtrian order, in the territory of Mecklenburg, Nicholas Butzow, Detlevus a Bulow, Matthias ab Oertze, Henningivus Pleſſe: in the territory of Wenden, Witekind Molzahn, Joachim Haane, Theodoric Flotow, and Lotharius Baſſeweitz: in the territory of Stargard, Melchior Baruoth, poſſeſſed of the commandery of Mirow, Henry Haane in Pleetz, Poppo Blanchenburg, and Angelus Helpte: and laſtly, two out of each of the following towns; Roſtock, Wiſmar, New Brandenburg, and Guſtrow, who ſhall be nominated by their reſpective magiſtrates. We give in charge to the aforeſaid judges and arbitrators, that they be ready to aid and aſſiſt every injured perſon, who ſhall apply to them for ſuccour, according to juſtice and the nature of the affair. And if they ſhould think the matter worthy of a nicer inquiry, let them convoke and aſſemble the ſeveral orders of the prelates, knights, and towns, in a proper place and on a proper day, and there take their advice and deciſion ſuitable to the neceſſity of the caſe. In the room of thoſe, whom God ſhall pleaſe to take to himſelf, let the other families of that territory to which the deceaſed belonged, chuſe and appoint another whom they ſhall think qualified to execute that office. But this act of union is no way intended to derogate from the authority and juriſdiction of our aforeſaid moſt clement lords, their heirs and ſucceſſors, nor from the duty we owe them in virtue of our oath of ſubjection and allegiance; nor ſhall we ever be found otherwiſe than faithful and obedient ſubjects. This act of union and confederacy ſhall be prolonged, reduced, or extended, according to the exigency, uſe, and neceſſity of the times. Theſe preſents we confirm, ratify, and irrevocably and perpetually decree without any clauſe or fraudulent exception; and we all and each of us pledge our faith to one another, that we will obſerve the ſame: in witneſs and perpetual memory whereof, we Ulric Malchow, adminiſtrator of the church of Schwerin, Nicholas, abbot of Dobberan, Nicholas Francke, elder of the aforeſaid church of Schwerin, Bertholdus Moller, dean of the cathedral church of St. James, in the diſtrict of Roſtock, and Henry Moller, dean of Dobberan, as commiſſioners in the name of all the prelates; Nicholas Lurtzow and Henningius Halberſtat, knights; Melchior Baruoth, poſſeſſed of the commandery of Mirow, Witekind Molzahn, Clement a Bulow, Reymarus Blucher, Joachim Haane, Caſpar Schoneich, Lotharius Moltke, Matthias ab Oertzen, Gaſpar Eyneike, Wittekind ab Oldenburg, James Levizow, Henry Wangelien, Theodorick Flotow, Victor Veregge, Eccardus a Quitzow, Bernardus Rhor, Joachim Vander Luwe, Lotha-

rius

execution of which was committed to Eric duke of Brunſwick, and Eric count of Helfenſtein. Theſe two princes had directions to convene the ſtates in order to the partition, and in caſe of oppoſition, to proceed to military execution. The ſtates were aſſembled, but maintained the late act of union with ſuch ſtrength of argument before the imperial commiſſioners, that the partition did not take place: they declared that it was contrary to their privileges, to admit of diſmembering the province. The commiſſioners then aſking them, whether they had any diploma to that effect? they anſwered in the affirmative, and promiſed to produce it; but whether it was the late act of union, or ſome more antient deed, hiſtory does not inform us. All that we know for certain is, that the commiſſioners deſiſted from carrying the imperial decree into execution; and the act of union was firmly eſtabliſhed.

Agreement of Wiſmar.

Fraternal love was too weak a bar to duke Albert's ambition; he would bear no partner on the throne, and refuſed to acquieſce in an act of the ſtates, concerning which he had never been conſulted: but as his brother availed himſelf of this act to maintain the joint regency; duke Albert again ſolicited the imperial court to ſuperſede it. The proceſs being very tedious, the two brothers came to a temporary agreement for twenty years, till the affair could be adjuſted; but neither of them lived to ſee the final deciſion. Conferences were held at Wiſmar; and in virtue of this convention they divided the revenue of the country between them: duke Albert as before took for his ſhare the lordſhips of Roſtock and Stargard; 1534.

rius a Baſſewitz, Angelus ab Helpede, Vollhard Preen, and Nicholas Pentze, as commiſſioners on the part of the whole equeſtrian order: and we, conſuls and ſenators of the towns of Roſtock, Wiſmar, New Brandenburg, Guſtrow, Parchimn, and Schwerin, as commiſſioners in the name of all the towns in the aforeſaid provinces, for ourſelves, our families and heirs, and for the ſucceſſors of our prelates and towns, and for the ſeveral orders of the ſtate, their heirs and ſucceſſors, have knowingly and freely fixed our ſeals to this public inſtrument, which we the States of this country, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall alſo uſe in common. Given and written at Roſtock, the firſt of Auguſt, 1523.

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the remainder fell to his brother; the latter held his reſidence at Schwerin; the former at Guſtrow.

Prudent conduct of duke Henry.

The frequent treaties of accommodation, which duke Henry concluded with his brother Albert, fully juſtify the title of Peaceable, by which this prince was diſtinguiſhed from all the other Henries of his family. He never waged war with any other power, unleſs we give that appellation to the quarrel with the city of Lubeck. He muſt have been endued with unwearied patience and great good nature, to ſubmit a point ſo often to arbitration, after it had been formally determined. In this reſpect however, he acted the part of a wiſe politician; ſince by his ſteadineſs, he was always ſure to gain ſome advantage over his brother, though the latter was ſupported by the court of Vienna: this is certain that he preſerved the form of a conſtitution, which afterwards was in ſome meaſure eſtabliſhed in the country of Mecklenburg. For although ſeveral of the dukes ſeem to have had a deſign to make an abſolute partition of their dominions, the union of 1523 always rendered ſuch partitions impracticable *.

1525. Death of Mareſchallus Thurius.

During this diſpute died the celebrated Nicholas Mareſchallus Thurius, a civilian of Roſtock, and privy counſellor to duke Henry. His Annales Herulorum & Vandalorum, in ſeven books, which were publiſhed in 1521, gained him great reputation. Duke Henry ſhewed his high regard for this learned man, by ordering him to be buried at his own expence in the church of Dobberan, and a monument to be erected to his memory with the following inſcription.

Hoc Nicolai habitant Marſcalci funera ſaxo,
Henricus princeps hæc monumenta dedit.
Henricus princeps, quo non modo ſanctior alter,
Et Megalopyrgos Vandalicoſque regit.
Omnia conſiliis cum multa pace gubernans
Doctorum ut ſemper, ſic Nicolae! tuis.
Hic merito funus tanto ſepelivit honore
Virtuti gratus inclytæ et officiis.

* Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz, Franck.

After

Progreſs of the Reformation.

AFTER the convention of Wiſmar, duke Albert made frequent viſits to the imperial court, where he was held in high eſteem for adhering to the old religion, which now began to loſe ground in Germany. Although Luther's doctrine had been proſcribed in 1521, at the diet of Worms, where duke Albert and his brother aſſiſted; and though the emperor, by edicts and declarations, had endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of the Reformation, it continued notwithſtanding to ſpread and extend itſelf, not only in Germany, Livonia, and Pruſſia, but even in Denmark and Sweden. In the year 1524, a diet was held at Nurenberg on the ſubject of religion, at which Henry duke of Mecklenburg was preſent; here it was ordained, that the decrees of the diet of Worms ſhould be put in execution. The Lutherans having eluded this blow, another diet was held at Spire in 1529, for ſettling the affairs of the church, and Luther's tenets were again condemned. Againſt this reſolution the elector of Saxony, the dukes of Lunenburg, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the other chiefs of Luther's adherents entered their proteſts; and from thence they acquired the name of Proteſtants, which was afterwards extended to all thoſe who ſeparated from the church of Rome.

1524.

1529.

Origin of the name of Proteſtants.

1530. Confeſſion of Augſburg.

THE year following was held the great diet of Augſburg, at which Charles V. and moſt of the electors and princes of the empire aſſiſted. Among the reſt was duke Albert of Mecklenburg, in whoſe abilities and integrity the whole aſſembly repoſed ſuch confidence, that they nominated him one of the committee for reconciling the differences in religion. His brother duke Henry alſo repaired to this diet, together with his ſon Magnus, biſhop of Schwerin, who harangued ſeveral times in elegant Latin before the aſſembly: but all endeavours towards a reconciliation proving ineffectual, the Proteſtants preſented to the emperor and the ſtates their confeſſion of faith, which was named from thence, The Confeſſion of Augſburg. The diet ſeparated without any effect; and the Proteſtant princes meeting ſoon after at Smalcalde, in the county of Henneberg, for

their common ſecurity and the preſervation of their religion, concluded a treaty of alliance on the laſt day of the year 1530 *.

Conduct of duke Henry and his brother.

NEITHER duke Albert nor his brother would ſign the confeſſion of Augſburg, nor the league of Smalcalde; duke Henry, though diſpoſed to favour the Proteſtant religion, thought it more prudent to proceed with caution, and not to declare his ſentiments, till the new doctrine was better eſtabliſhed. His brother was in reality not averſe to the Reformation; but finding himſelf in very high favour with the emperor, and with Ferdinand king of the Romans, he did not chuſe to profeſs a religion condemned by thoſe princes. He is ſaid to have been preſent at the coronation of that very king of the Romans,
1531. which was performed in 1531, at Aix la Chapelle, and to have been honoured with the dignity of arch-carver of the empire, in conſequence of his carving ſo dexterouſly at the royal table. Duke Albert was ſtrongly attached to the houſe of Auſtria, the emperor had tried his fidelity on many occaſions, but particularly in the troubles of Denmark. Chriſtian II. having been dethroned by his own ſubjects, duke Albert was perſuaded by Charles V. to engage in an expedition for reſtoring that prince to his dominions. But the circumſtances of this expedition, and the revolution which gaver iſe to it, are matters of ſuch importance as to merit our particular conſideration †.

* Seckend. F. Paul, Pfeffel, Sleidan, Barre.
† Chemn. Latom. Behr, Franck.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Revolution of Denmark in 1523. Account of duke Albert's expedition to that kingdom in ſupport of king Chriſtian II. Affairs of Denmark and Sweden. Guſtavus Vaſa elected king of Sweden. The Danes depoſe Chriſtian II. The city of Lubeck attempts to reſtore king Chriſtian III. Duke Albert of Mecklenburg joins in the ſame deſign. Operations of the Lubeckers in the war with Denmark. Chriſtian II. elected king of Denmark. The Swedes aſſiſt the Danes againſt the Lubeckers. Duke Albert embarks for Copenhagen. Siege of Copenhagen. Lubeck ſigns a peace with Denmark. Great diſtreſs at Copenhagen. Duke Albert ſurrenders that city.

Affairs of Denmark and Sweden.

THE northern kingdoms had undergone conſiderable revolutions ſince the return of Chriſtian I. from his expedition to Rome in 1474. This prince died in 1481, without being able to eſtabliſh himſelf in Sweden: by his queen Dorothea he left two ſons, John and Frederick, the former of whom was choſen by the Danes to ſucceed his father. John divided the dutchy of Holſtein with his brother Frederick, and after defeating the Dalecarlians, and obliging the adminiſtrator of Sweden, Steen Sture, to ſurrender the city of Stockholm, he was crowned king of Sweden in 1497. The Swedes however being afterwards excited by the adminiſtrator, and ſupported by the Hanſe towns, found means to diſturb the greateſt part of the remainder of his reign: but in the year 1512, they thought proper once more to ſubmit, and a treaty of reconciliation between Denmark and the Hanſe towns was alſo concluded. The Swedes agreed to pay annually thirteen thouſand marks of ſilver, till they acknowledged either king John or his ſon Chriſtian, for their ſovereign. King John died in 1513 by a fall from his horſe; and the Danes ſhewed their eſteem for his memory, by chooſing his only ſon Chriſtian II. to ſucceed him.

Character of Chriſtian II. king of Denmark.

THIS prince greatly degenerated from his royal father; and being of cruel diſpoſition, he ſoon rendered himſelf obnoxious to the Danes. In the year 1515 he eſpouſed the princeſs Iſabella, ſiſter to the emperor Charles V. at the ſame time he maintained a concubine, called Columbula, whom he brought with him from Flanders, after paying his addreſſes in perſon to the princeſs Iſabella. Columbula dying, as it is ſaid, by poiſon, he ſuffered himſelf to be governed by her mother Sigibrette, a low artful woman. But he quite alienated the minds of his ſubjects, by putting two of the principal lords of his court to death, upon the mere ſuſpicion of crimes which they had never committed: he likewiſe incurred the odium of the clergy, by perſecuting the biſhop of Odenſee, and by favouring Luther's doctrine, which began to ſpread itſelf very early in Denmark.

Diſturbances in Sweden.

THESE circumſtances were highly prejudicial to Chriſtian's intereſt in Sweden, where he revived his pretenſions, founded on the late treaty in 1512 between the Swediſh nation and his father. The Swedes for ſome time eluded his demands, till at length their own inteſtine diviſions paved the way to his acceſſion. The famous adminiſtrator * Steen Sture I. died in 1503, as it is ſuggeſted, of poiſon; and the ſtates elected in his room Suante Sture, one of the chief noblemen of the kingdom; this lord breathed his laſt in 1512, and the dignity of admimiſtrator was conferred in 1512 on Steen Sture II. ſon of Steen Sture I. a favourite of the people. Chriſtian, king of Denmark, finding that the adminiſtrator Steen Sture was not at all diſpoſed to reſign his power, endeavoured to engage pope Leo X. in his intereſts, together with Guſtavus Troll, the new archbiſhop of Upſal, whom he gained over by preſents. This prelate, although he owed his dignity to the adminiſtrator, was ſo ungrateful as to enter into a cloſe connexion with king Chriſtian; and putting himſelf at the head of a faction, perſuaded his friends to alter the form of government. At the ſame time the

* The dignity of adminiſtrator was conſidered as a commiſſion during an interregnum, and was revokable at pleaſure. The perſon inveſted with it enjoyed a high degree of power and authority, eſpecially in time of war.

king

king tampered with the pope's legate, who was amaſſing vaſt ſums of money in Denmark, by the ſale of indulgences; and finding avarice to be his prevailing paſſion, the monarch loaded him with preſents, and engaged him to go over to Sweden, in order to promote the intereſts of Denmark: thus while one prieſt betrayed the adminiſtrator, another alſo acted a treacherous part towards king Chriſtian; the miniſter of the court of Rome was gained over by the adminiſtrator, to whom he diſcloſed Chriſtian's deſigns and moſt intimate connexions.

Chriſtian II. makes himſelf maſter of Sweden.

STEEN STURE being appriſed by the adminiſtrator of the intentions of the archbiſhop, made him a tender of the oaths, which he refuſed to take, and for ſuch refuſal he was beſieged in his caſtle of Steeka. The archbiſhop called Chriſtian to his aid; but this prince's attempts to raiſe the ſiege of Steeka proving ineffectual, the haughty prelate was obliged to ſurrender his caſtle, and to reſign his archbiſhopric.

MEAN while the court of Rome eſpouſing the party of the factious prelate, thundered out its anathemas againſt the adminiſtrator, and put Sweden under an interdict; at the ſame time a commiſſion was given to king Chriſtian to execute the papal decree. The king entered Sweden with a powerful army; Steen Sture advanced to meet him in Weſt Gothland, but was wounded in an engagement, of which he died at Stregnes, and the Swediſh army was afterwards diſperſed: the kingdom being then left naked without either chief or army, was expoſed to all the fury and violence of a barbarous and vindictive enemy. The ſenate and the people, tired of a long and diſtructive war, acknowledged Chriſtian for their ſovereign; and he was crowned, together with the queen his conſort, by Troll, who had again taken poſſeſſion of the archiepiſcopal ſee of Upſal. 1520.

Barbarities committed by Chriſtian in Sweden.

SCARCE was Chriſtian ſeated on the throne, when he formed, in concert with the archbiſhop, the barbarous and inhuman project of putting every Swede to death, of whom he entertained any ſuſpicion, or whom he thought likely to oppoſe his abſolute authority. He invited the principal members of the ſenate and nobility to a feaſt, where the archbiſhop demanded ſatisfaction for

for the injuries which the ſenate had done him, and called for the execution of the pope's bull: this was the ſignal agreed upon; a number of armed ſoldiers ruſhed into the hall, ſeized the ſenators and magiſtrates of Stockholm, who were executed in the public market-place, ſo that the town was overflowed by the blood of its nobles, and the moſt reſpectable part of its inhabitants: after he had thus inhumanly butchered about 600 Swedes, he returned precipitately to Denmark. While theſe ſcenes of
1521. barbarity were acting in Sweden, Guſtavus Vaſa, a young lord, whoſe father had been murdered by the tyrant, made his eſcape from Denmark, where he had been detained ſome time as a hoſtage; he took ſhelter in the mountains of Dalecarlia, waiting for an opportunity to excite that province to a revolt. The inhabitants being ſenſible of the danger to which they were expoſed from the tyranny of king Chriſtian, placed Guſtavus at their head. Their example was ſoon followed by the ſtates of Sweden, who declared him adminiſtrator of the kingdom. But as he had the good fortune to drive the Daniſh troops out of his country, he was ſoon raiſed to the regal dignity, and Sweden has ever ſince been a ſeparate kingdom.

1523. The Danes depoſe Chriſtian II.

In the mean time great diſcontents broke out in Demark; the king, always impetuous, was now become frantic and impatient of all legal reſtraint: he endeavoured to extort by menaces the dukedom of Holſtein from his uncle Frederick, but was diſappointed by the vigilance of that prince; and he had irritated the Hanſe Towns to lay ſiege to Elſineur, which they reduced to aſhes. In order to oppoſe the enemy he aſſembled a numerous army in Zealand, at the head of which he intended to meet the diet at Arhus. The ſenate and nobility apprehending he intended to renew the maſſacre of Stockholm, held a meeting at Wiburg, where they renounced their allegiance to the tyrant. Magnus Munce, chief juſtice of Jutland, brought him the inſtrument of his depoſition, and in delivering it made uſe of theſe words; "My name ought to be inſcribed on the palace gates of every wicked prince." Chriſtian imagining all Denmark had conſpired his ruin, retired with the utmoſt precipitation to Kolding, a town ſituated on the

frontiers of Holſtein and Jutland. Then apprehending leſt the Baltic ſhould be ſhut up by the fleets of the Hanſe Towns, he equipped at Copenhagen a fleet of twenty ſail, on board of which he put all his private treaſure: attended by his queen, children, and Sigibrette, he ſet ſail from Copenhagen, and at length arrived in Zealand, from whence he ſent a deputation to his brother-in-law the emperor Charles V. imploring his aſſiſtance; but Charles was at that time engaged in a war with France, which did not ſuffer him to grant any ſuccour to the abdicated monarch.

1524. Frederick I. choſen king of Denmark.

THE depoſition of Chriſtian II. paved the way to the throne for his uncle Frederick, duke of Holſtein. Immediately after he had gained poſſeſſion of the capital, he ſummoned a general diet, where the crown was ſettled upon his head: in order to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, he renounced his pretenſions to Sweden, and even entered into an alliance with Guſtavus. Religious diſputes ſoon after breaking out in Denmark, he openly declared in favour of the Reformation, which was embraced in all quarters of the kingdom.

1525.

1531. King Chriſtian attempts to recover his crown,

CHRISTIAN having in vain ſolicited his brother-in-law Charles V. to aſſiſt him in endeavouring to reſume the ſcepter, at length prevailed on Margaret of Auſtria to lend him a ſmall body of troops, with which he embarked from Flanders, and landed in Norway. Here he was joined by ſeveral malecontents, and laid ſiege to Aggerhus, which was defended by Magnus Gyllenſtiern, viceroy of that kingdom. Alarmed at this intelligence, king Frederick ſent a fleet under the conduct of the two brothers of the viceroy of Norway, with a ſtrong body of land forces on board: they ſurpriſed Chriſtian's fleet in the gulf of Bahus, and totally deſtroyed it; upon which Chriſtian raiſed the ſiege of Aggerhus: the Gyllenſtierns landed their forces, and obliged him to attempt a retreat to Sweden; but he ſoon found himſelf oppoſed by a body of three thouſand horſe, ſent to block up the paſſage by king Guſtavus. In this dilemma Chriſtian threw himſelf into the little town of Congel, where being preſſed with famine, he ſurrendered himſelf to Gyllenſtiern, biſhop of Odenſee, one of

but is defeated and taken priſoner.

1532.

of the Daniſh generals, who promiſed him on the part of king Frederick, a ſafe retreat. But no ſooner was Chriſtian arrived at Copenhagen, than king Frederick ordered him to be ſeized and conducted to the caſtle of Sunderbourg; where he continued till Frederick's death, which happened at Gottorp in 1533.

1533. Unſettled ſtate of Denmark.

UPON the deceaſe of this prince, an inter-regnum enſued in Denmark, during which, that kingdom was rent by violent factions. The ſenate convened a general diet at Copenhagen for the election of a new king. Prince Chriſtian, eldeſt ſon of the late monarch, ſent two noblemen of diſtinction to that aſſembly, to appear in his name: the Romiſh clergy endeavoured to exclude that prince from the throne, on account of his having declared himſelf protector of the Proteſtant religion: the nobility on the contrary were ſtrongly in his intereſt: a third party, though very inconſiderable, was formed in favour of the abdicated king Chriſtian II. but the election was put off to the next year *.

The city of Lubeck attempts to reſtore king Chriſtian II.

THESE civil diſcontents in Denmark furniſhed the regency of Lubeck with an opportunity of attempting to engroſs the trade of the Baltic; and theſe ambitious merchants are ſaid to have projected nothing leſs than the univerſal empire of the North. To accompliſh their deſigns they had propoſed to reſtore Chriſtian II. they had alſo engaged in the ſame ſcheme the towns of Roſtock, Wiſmar, and Stralſund, together with prince Chriſtopher of Oldenburg, a cadet of that family, archbiſhop Troll, John count of Hoya, a great number of exiles, many of the diſcontented clergy, and the chief magiſtrates of Malmoe and Copenhagen: duke Albert of Mecklenburg was alſo drawn into the ſame confederacy, not indeed with any deſign of ſerving the purpoſes of the Lubeckers, but of relieving the diſtreſſed monarch, and, perhaps, of gratifying his own ambition.

Duke Albert of Mecklenburg joins in the ſame deſign.

DUKE Albert at this very juncture had received the moſt affecting letters from the adbicated king's daughters Dorothea and Chriſtina, in behalf of their unfortunate father; the letters

* Puffend. Lowen. Pontan. Mallet.

were

were backed by an application from Margaret of Auſtria, queen of Hungary, governeſs of the Low Countries, and ſiſter-in-law to king Chriſtian. The emperor himſelf is alſo ſuppoſed to have excited duke Albert to embark in the cauſe, in which the intereſt of the Auſtrian family, for which the duke had ſo great a regard, was deeply concerned: another more powerful motive muſt have operated at this time with the duke, which was a private article in the treaty between him and the Lubeckers, that if he would put himſelf at the head of the alliance, they would engage to raiſe him to the crown of Sweden, upon the death of Chriſtian II. who was now advanced in years, and had no male iſſue: it is alſo affirmed, that the cities of Copenhagen and Elbingen, in Schonen, or rather the malecontents of thoſe cities, had ſolemnly engaged, that if Chriſtian, the ſon of king Frederick, would not quietly reſign the throne to Chriſtian II. they would ſtand by the laſt mentioned prince, with their lives and fortunes, and endeavour to raiſe him again to the throne of Denmark. The burgomaſter Wullenweber of Lubeck, and the ſyndic Oldenhorp of Roſtock, ſigned the ſame agreement, in the name of their reſpective cities; as a farther excitement, many of the diſcontented lords in Sweden, finding no hopes in Chriſtian II. and knowing how greatly duke Albert was beloved by the Hanſe Towns, propoſed to dethrone Guſtavus, and to raiſe the duke to the crown of Sweden. A proſpect of aſſerting the rights of his family to that northern crown, might have tempted a prince of leſs ambition than the duke of Mecklenburg; however, he did not embark for Denmark till the year 1535, when the war had been for ſome time carried on between the Lubeckers and that nation *.

1534. Operations of the Lubeckers in the war with Denmark.

The city of Lubeck had equipped a ſquadron of twenty-four ſail, and given the command to Mark Meyer, who, from the very dregs of the people, had raiſed himſelf to the chief magiſtracy. Guſtavus was apprized by the Daniſh embaſſador, of the project which the Lubeckers had formed againſt his crown,

* Buckholtz, Behr, Franck.

and, as ſome pretend, againſt his life. In revenge this prince ſeized all the ſhips belonging to Lubeck within the extent of his dominions. The troops of the confederacy were under the command of Chriſtopher, count of Oldenburg, who was charged with the enterpriſe of ſetting Chriſtian at liberty. The count invaded the dutchy of Holſtein, where he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, among the reſt of Trittau and Eudin; from thence he proceeded to Sigeberg, and after taking that town, was preparing to aſſault the caſtle, when count Rantzau, general to the duke of Holſtein, advanced to meet him; the confederate troops were attacked and defeated, and Rantzau recovered the poſſeſſion of Eudin. The Lubeckers, not at all diſconcerted, altered their plan, and embarking their troops, reſolved to make a deſcent upon Denmark, in order to divide the forces of that kingdom: as the count of Oldenburg entered the Sound with his fleet, George Munter, conſul of Malmoe, ſeized upon the citadel, and declaring in favour of Chriſtian II. encouraged Chriſtopher to land his forces; the towns of Roſchild, Koge, Soeholme, and Stege, ſoon ſurrendered; even the city of Copenhagen made but a feeble reſiſtance: the iſlands of Laland, Falſter, Langelland, as well as Zealand and Schonen, ſubmitted without difficulty. The Lubeckers being thus maſters of a great part of Denmark, publiſhed a manifeſto in favour of their proceedings, and of their attempt to reinſtate king Chriſtian II. in whoſe name they held the ſeveral places in their poſſeſſion.

Lubeck diſtreſſed.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great ſucceſs of the arms of the Lubeckers abroad, affairs at home were in the utmoſt confuſion; Rantzaw, the Holſtein general, availed himſelf of the abſence of the confederate army, to diſtreſs theſe republicans. After relieving Eudin, he advanced to the town of Travemunde, which he beſieged and took; then demoliſhing the fortreſs of Muggeberg, he began to throw a bridge over the Trave, which greatly alarmed the city of Lubeck. Having made himſelf maſter of both ſides of the river, and of the harbour, he ſet fire to all the ſhips, by which means the Lubeckers were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. Thus by an odd concurrence of circumſtances, the

the two adverſe parties, the Lubeckers and the Danes, were in the moſt diſtracted condition at home, while their arms were triumphant abroad. Their caſe had a remarkable conformity to that of the Romans, in the ſecond Punic war; while Hannibal was diſtreſſing the former in Italy, their forces under Scipio were making the conqueſt of Spain.

Chriſtian III. elected king of Denmark.

BUT luckily for the Lubeckers, the ſtates of Jutland and Holſtein aſſembling at this very juncture, elected Chriſtian III. to the throne of Denmark: the ſtates of Fuhnen acceded to the election, which induced this prince, who was then with general Rantzaw at the ſiege of Lubeck, to ſet out directly for Horſens, where he was ſolemnly crowned; and to this event the city of Lubeck owed its preſervation. The two kings of Denmark and Sweden entered into a ſtrict alliance: a body of Swediſh troops, under the command of their king Guſtavus, marched into Schonen, and changed the face of affairs in favour of Chriſtian III.

1535. The Swedes aſſiſt the Danes againſt the Lubeckers.

THE Swediſh army acted with vigour, and advancing to the neighbourhood of Helſingburg, obtained a complete victory over the troops under the command of the count of Oldenburg; here the count loſt his beſt officers and ſoldiers, who were either killed or made priſoners. The news of this defeat procured many friends to the king of Denmark; and induced the nobility of Norway to declare in his favour: general Mark Meyer, who had been taken priſoner at the battle of Helſingburg, was carried to the fortreſs of Warberg, ſituated on the frontiers of Sweden and Denmark: here having found means to excite the burghers to a revolt, with their aſſiſtance he overpowered the garriſon, and made himſelf maſter of the citadel.

1534. Duke Albert embarks for Copenhagen

THINGS being thus circumſtanced, duke Albert embarked on board a fleet fitted out by the Lubeckers, with a conſiderable reinforcement for the confederate army in Denmark: his duchеſs attended him on this occaſion, and indeed was inſeparable from him in all his expeditions; he landed the 8th of April at Copenhagen, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants. Great hopes were conceived by the allies upon the

arrival of this prince; in which probably they would not have been diſappointed, had it not been for a miſunderſtanding that aroſe between him and the count of Oldenburg, which prevented them from acting with proper vigour: the count's violent behaviour to ſeveral Daniſh lords, and his rapaciouſneſs in ſeizing a great number of Dutch ſhips in the paſſage of the Sound, exaſperated even ſuch ſenators and noblemen as ſtill adhered to that party. Not long after, king Chriſtian croſſed over with his army into Fuhnen, where the enemy attempted to ſurpriſe him, but were defeated in an engagement on mount Oxemberg, not far from Aſſens, a maritime town: the counts Tecklenburg and Hoya were killed, and the archbiſhop Troll being taken priſoner, ſoon after died of his wounds; this victory was followed by the conqueſt of the whole iſland. From Fuhnen the Daniſh army paſſed into Zealand, where they laid ſiege to Copenhagen: the Swediſh ſquadron prevented all acceſs to the town by ſea; and a ſtrong army carried on the operations by land: in the mean time Mark Meyer was once more diſlodged from the fortreſs of Warberg by the former governor. By an article of the capitulation he had obtained his life; but the general of the Daniſh army cauſed him to be arreſted, and broke upon the wheel; his brother, and ſome few more of his party were treated in the ſame barbarous manner: the pretext for this cruel treatment was, that he had ſtirred up the city of Lubeck to wage war againſt Denmark, and attempted to ſubvert the conſtitution of the northern kingdoms.

The Lubeckers defeated.

1536. Siege of Copenhagen.

DURING this interval, the ſiege of Copenhagen was carried on with the utmoſt vigour, and the inhabitants began to be greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; yet their ſpirits were kept up by frequent promiſes of ſuccour from the emperor and the governeſs of the Netherlands. The regency of Lubeck, who had begun the war, now being grown ſenſible of its heavy expence, and the improbability of any ſucceſs from it, were the firſt to think of peace. They therefore ſollicited the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the cities of Bremen, Hamburg, Magdeburg, and Brunſwick, to act as mediators between them and Chriſtian

Chriſtian III. At the ſame time they acquainted duke Albert with the ſituation of their affairs, and recommended to him to make the beſt terms he could with the enemy: a congreſs was conſequently held at Hamburg, where the deputies of all the above powers, as likewiſe thoſe of duke Henry of Mecklenburg, aſſiſted, and a peace was concluded between Denmark and Lubeck; Chriſtian the more readily came into this peace, as he perceived that his ſubjects were tired out with the long continuance of the war. The deputies of Lubeck would fain have included duke Albert and count Chriſtoper in this treaty; but theſe princes ſtill confiding in the imperial promiſes, refuſed to ſurrender Copenhagen; hence the peace was ſeparately ſigned between Denmark and Lubeck *, and even without conſulting king Guſtavus, which gave great offence to that monarch.

The city of Lubeck ſigns a peace with Denmark.

All this while the city of Copenhagen ſuffered inexpreſſible miſery, for want of proviſions and ammunition: the greateſt part of the citizens had periſhed by famine; and the garriſon was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that dogs, cats, rats, and the moſt loathſome animals were reckoned dainties; children after draining their mothers breaſts, periſhed in the arms of their unfortunate parents. The people were ſo enfeebled with hunger, that many dropped down in the ſtreets, and others were often found dead in their beds; ſtill there was no talk of ſurrender: but all hopes of ſuccour at length vaniſhed; advice being received that the governeſs of the Netherlands ſtood in need of the troops ſhe had deſigned for Denmark, to defend her own government againſt the invaſion of Charles, duke of Gelderland. In conſequence of this intelligence, duke Albert and the earl of Oldenburg thought proper to ſurrender: a capitulation was concluded, and ſigned the 29th of July 1536, by the mediation of William duke of Brunſwick; and king Chriſtian took poſſeſſion of the city of Copenhagen. Duke Albert immediately embarked on board a ſhip in that harbour, and arrived ſafe at Roſtock.

Great diſtreſs at the ſiege of Copenhagen.

Duke Albert ſurrenders Copenhagen.

* 14 Feb. 1536.

Such

Death of Chriſtian II.

SUCH was the iſſue of this unhappy expedition of duke Albert in favour of Chriſtian II. The dethroned monarch lived twenty-ſeven years a captive in the caſtle of Callenburg; and died a natural death, on the 1ſt of January 1559. We mention this laſt circumſtance, as a rare inſtance of lenity and moderation, in the two princes his competitors to the throne, and an exception to the received maxim, that ſhort is the diſtance between the priſons and the graves of princes.

CHAP. VII.

Containing the Remainder of DUKE ALBERT's Reign till his Death in 1547.

Duke Albert is encumbered by the Daniſh expedition. League of Smalkalde renewed. The laſt tournament in Mecklenburg. The firſt coining of dollars in that country. Diets of Ratiſbon and Spire. Quarrel between duke Albert and Sweden. Duke Albert joins the emperor againſt the duke of Cleves. Religious war in Germany. The Proteſtants defeated at the battle of Mulberg. Duke Albert commands the imperial forces againſt Pomerania. Privileges granted by Charles V. to duke Albert. Death of duke Albert. His character, marriages, and iſſue. Account of the dukes Chriſtopher and Charles of Mecklenburg.

1536. Duke Albert encumbered by the Daniſh expedition.

DUKE Albert inſtead of reaping any advantage for himſelf or his allies by his expedition to Denmark, had contracted a debt of upwards of 300,000 florins. The officers and ſoldiers, who returned with him from Copenhagen, preſſed him very hard for the arrears of their pay, and at length he was obliged to pay ſome attention to their importunities: he therefore took a journey to Flanders, in order to repreſent his ſituation to the governeſs of that country, not doubting but he ſhould be

be reimburſed his expences, and even rewarded for the hardſhips he had undergone in the ſervice of the Auſtrian familiy: but gratitude is a virtue uncommon amongſt princes. With much difficulty he got two thouſand florins towards defraying the expence of regimentals: the next year he received the farther ſum of ſeven thouſand florins, which was all he ever could obtain from that quarter. During the ſiege of Copenhagen he had lent ſeven thouſand florins to the count of Oldenburg; which the latter having delayed to pay, the duke ſued him in the imperial chamber, and obtained a decree in his favour. But this was only a very ſmall ſatisfaction for the great expence this prince had incurred, and the dangers to which he had expoſed his perſon *. 1537.

1536. League of Smalkalde.

About this time the chamber of Spire began to give ſubject of complaint to the Proteſtant ſtates, by the decrees pronounced againſt the city of Hamburg: the princes of the confeſſion of Augſburg, to obviate the ill conſequences of theſe decrees aſſembled at Smalkalde, where they renewed their aſſociation for ten years, and choſe the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe, generals of the confederacy; the kings of France and England acceded to this alliance; duke Henry of Mecklenburg intended to have repaired to this aſſembly, in order to join with the reſt of the princes in that aſſociation; accordingly he was juſt mounting his horſe, when his chancellor Gaſpar Schoneich took hold of his coat, and with great ſolicitation and entreaties made him deſiſt from his purpoſe. The event ſhewed the utility of this ſage miniſter's counſel, and how ſalutary it proved to the duke himſelf as well as to the whole country of Mecklenburg †.

1537. The laſt tournament in Mecklenburg.

Duke Albert being now returned from Flanders, reſolved not to relinquiſh his demand upon the imperial court, but to employ every intereſt for obtaining a juſt and equitable ſatisfaction: with this view he paid ſeveral viſits to different princes of the empire, and among the reſt, to Chriſtopher, duke of Bavaria. His ducheſs accompanied him in this journey, and at

* Franck. † Sleidan, Heiſſe, Pfeffel, Puffend. Franck.

Augſburg was delivered of a ſon, named Chriſtopher, out of reſpect to his god-father, Chriſtopher, biſhop of that city. At the ſame time there were great rejoicings in Mecklenburg for the double marriage of duke Henry's daughters, Margaret and Catharine; the former of whom was joined in wedlock to Henry, duke of Munſterburg, in Sileſia; and the latter to Frederick III. duke of Lignitz in the ſame country: on this occaſion there was a tournament, which proved very unfortunate to duke Henry's family; for his ſon Philip was wounded in the head with the ſplinter of a ſpear, which reduced him to a ſtate of imbecillity, and conſequently, incapacitated him from government: on this melancholy occaſion theſe entertainments were aboliſhed in Mecklenburg.

1538. The firſt coining of dollars in Mecklenburg.

THE year following, duke Albert cauſed the firſt whole dollars and half dollars, that were ever coined in this duchy, to be ſtruck at Guſtrow, with his figure on one ſide, and over it the year of our Lord 1538, and theſe words, MO. NOVA GUSTROV. on the other ſide are five ſmall ſhields with three helmets. What quantity of ſpecie was coined at this juncture by the duke, we find no where ſpecified; but notice is taken by the hiſtorians of that period, that he was greatly diſtreſſed for money, the Daniſh expedition having quite exhauſted his finances: diſappointed in his expectations from the governeſs of the Netherlands, he had recourſe once more in perſon to the emperor Charles V. and prevailed on the cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, archbiſhop of Mentz and Magdeburg, to back his petition. At length, by means of the interceſſion of this and ſeveral other princes, the emperor condeſcended to ſatisfy his demand, and wrote to queen Mary to pay him the three hundred thouſand florins. But this order had no effect; and in all probability, that princeſs was not able to advance the money *.

1540.

1541. Diet of Ratiſbon.

The year following a diet was held at Ratiſbon, where the emperor Charles V. preſided in perſon: conferences were held

* Behr, Buckh. Franck.

for

for healing the differences of religion: duke Albert aſſiſted at this aſſembly in hopes of obtaining by freſh remonſtrances ſome relief from the emperor: he was informed by his father-in-law, Joachim, margrave of Brandenburg, and by George, duke of Saxony, a zealous Roman catholic, that the moſt effectual method to gain his point, would be to declare himſelf openly of that religion, which his brother, to the emperor's great diſpleaſure, was endeavouring to ſuppreſs in Mecklenburg: accordingly he complied with their advice, and Charles V. appointed him agent to the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, and to the Landgrave of Heſſe, for raiſing money againſt the Turks. Charles then ſet out for Italy, from whence he wrote on the 29th of Auguſt from Milan, as did the king of the Romans from Lintz, to Queen Mary to comply with duke Albert's juſt demand; but all to no purpoſe.

1542. Diet of Spire.

THE enſuing year was held another diet at Spire, at which duke Albert alſo aſſiſted; here he preſented a petition to the emperor Charles V. expreſſing his grievances in conſequence of the great expences contracted in the Daniſh war; that he had often appealed to his imperial majeſty, and to queen Mary his ſiſter, but met with no redreſs; that he ſaw no other way of being eaſed of ſuch a burthen, than by his imperial Majeſty's iſſuing out a mandate to the ſtates of the province of Mecklenburg, enabling him to raiſe that ſum for the payment of his creditors: the emperor readily complied with his requeſt, and ordered Joachim, margrave of Brandenburg, to give him all the aſſiſtance in his power. The duke upon his return to Mecklenburg, ſummoned the ſtates of the province, and acquainted them with the imperial reſcript, for granting him an aid of three hundred thouſand florins; but the ſtates put off this propoſal to another time. At this very juncture, a rumour was ſpread, that Guſtavus king of Sweden threatened to invade the country of Mecklenburg, on account of the connexions which duke Albert ſtill maintained with the malecontents in that kingdom: at the head of theſe was Nicholas Dack, who, finding himſelf hard preſſed by Guſtavus, applied to duke Albert for aſſiſtance; the

Quarrel between duke Albert and Sweden.

duke ſent a citizen of Roſtock, named John Pflueg, to keep him and the Smalanders in ſpirits: John Pflueg was taken by the way in Denmark, and put to death. Nicholas Dack having received ſome ſuccours from Charles V. from duke Albert, and other princes, made an open ſtand againſt Guſtavus; but upon coming to an engagement, his forces were intirely defeated, and he himſelf was ſlain. Guſtavus breathing revenge againſt duke Albert, fitted out a fleet, notwithſtanding the autumn was far advanced, in order to make a deſcent on Mecklenburg, and lay waſte the country; but the weather proving very tempeſtuous, prevented the fleet from putting to ſea, and preſerved duke Albert's dominions from the wrath of the Swediſh monarch.

The danger of an invaſion from Sweden was the cauſe that duke Albert could raiſe no ſubſidies at home, for the payment of his debts: the ſituation of his ſubjects was rendered ſo uneaſy by the terror of the Swediſh arms, that they would make do extraordinary grants, till their apprehenſions were removed: but the duke ſeemed to have been intoxicated to that degree, with the deſire of the Swediſh crown, or ſo implacable in his enmity to Guſtavus, that rather than be reconciled to that prince, he
1544. choſe to be continually uneaſy in his finances: ſoon after this very affair, he commiſſioned Olaus Greenſted, Matthias Caroli, and Charles Beur, to ſet out for Sweden, in order to encourage the remains of Dack's adherents: a diet being held likewiſe this year at Spire, the duke appeared in that aſſembly, from whence he publiſhed ſeveral manifeſtos and invectives againſt Guſtavus, exhorting the Swedes not to obey that prince; but Guſtavus did not ſuffer his manifeſtoes to paſs unanſwered *.

1543. Duke Albert joins the emperor againſt the duke of Cleves.

Notwithstanding the many diſappointments duke Albert met with in his applications to the imperial court, ſtill he continued unalterably attached to the Auſtrian family: whether it was, that he obtained about this period ſome part of the indemnification promiſed by the emperor Charles, at the time of the Daniſh expedition, or that he expected by the continuance of

* Buckholtz, Franck.

his

his ſervices to ſucceed in his demand; at laſt, he joined that prince's army in the expedition againſt William, duke of Cleves, and gave great proofs of his military abilities at the ſiege of Gelders. Charles the laſt duke of Gueldres dying without iſſue in 1538, made William, duke of Cleves, his heir, without the concurrence of the emperor, and to the prejudice of that prince's claim, derived from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy. In order to maintain himſelf in the poſſeſſion of Guelderland, duke William applied to king Francis I. for his protection: in reſentment for this ſtep, Charles put the duke under the ban of the empire, and marched an army into the duchy of Cleves, intending to execute the ban himſelf in perſon. Duke William defeated Charles's army at Sittard; but the taking of Duren having opened a paſſage for the imperialiſts into his dominions, the duke was obliged to ſubmit, and to renounce the duchy of Guelderland, as well as his alliance with the French, by a treaty concluded at Venlo, September 7, 1543 *.

1546. Religious war in Germany.

THE religious war which ſoon after broke out in Germany, afforded an opportunity for duke Albert to appear upon the ſtage again in the greateſt luſtre: the death of Luther happened the ſame year, on the 18th of February, 1546: he had been invited by the counts of Mansfeldt to Iſleben, the place of his nativity, in order to ſettle a difference concerning the limits of their territories; here he was ſeized with an oppreſſion of the breaſt, of which he died at the age of ſixty-three. His enemies do him the juſtice to acknowledge, that while he lived, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours, and that with ſucceſs, to prevent his adherents from coming to an open rupture with the emperor: but immediately upon his deceaſe, both parties prepared for war. The emperor being now at peace with France, and having almoſt exhauſted Germany, by means of numerous ſubſidies againſt the Turks, thought it a proper opportunity for enſlaving the empire: the Proteſtants being aware of his deſigns, reſolved to aſſemble at Frankfort, in order to deliberate upon the means

* Franck, Pfeffel.

of averting the danger, with which their civil and religious liberties were threatened; after many conſultations, they determined to prolong their confederacy; their chiefs were John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Heſſe. In the mean time, the emperor convened a diet at Ratiſbon, at which were preſent duke Albert and his eldeſt ſon John Albert I. whom he brought from his ſtudies at Frankfort on the Oder. The emperor ſummoned the Proteſtants to ſubmit to the council of Trent, which had been lately convoked by the pope for the determining of religious controverſies; the Proteſtants not only refuſed to comply, but withdrew from the diet as ſoon as they heard of the levies, which that monarch was making in the catholic provinces. Charles then entered into a league with the pope, as well as with Maurice of Saxony, margrave of Miſnia, and head of the Albertine branch. Duke Albert embraced this opportunity to ſignalize his zeal in the Auſtrian cauſe: with this view he preſented his ſon John Albert to the emperor, and ordered that young prince and his brother George to ſerve under John, margrave of Brandenburg, who had ſided with the imperialiſts againſt the confederates of Smalkalde *.

At this very diet duke Albert preſented his laſt petition to Charles V. and to the king of the Romans, for ſome relief in the old affair of the three hundred thouſand dollars. The emperor affected with this prince's great zeal for the intereſt of the Auſtrian family, ſent another mandate to duke Henry and to the ſtates of Mecklenburg, to raiſe the money by aſſeſſment in a provincial diet: but although the ſtates were diſpoſed to comply with this imperial reſcript, they were intimidated by king Guſtavus, who held a diet at this very juncture at Arboga, in Sweden. Here he made heavy complaints to the ſtates of that kingdom, againſt the encouragement and reception given by the duke of Mecklenburg, and other German princes, to his rebellious ſubjects, and requeſted them to exert their whole force in revenging ſuch inſults to his crown and dignity: thus

* Heiſſe, Barre, Puffend. Franck, Pfeffel.

a terrible

a terrible ſtorm ſeemed to impend over duke Albert's ſubjects, when the ſucceſs of the imperial arms ſecured that country from a foreign invaſion.

The allies of Smalkalde had now aſſembled their troops, and fallen upon the duchy of Bavaria: the emperor being too weak to keep the field, entrenched himſelf in the neighbourhood of Ratiſbon. The 20th of July he put the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe under the ban of the empire; upon which theſe princes publiſhed a declaration of war, and marched againſt the emperor with an army of eighty thouſand men: had it not been for the treachery of the Saxon generals, the little army of Charles V. conſiſting only of nine thouſand men would have been cut in pieces, and the war been happily concluded; but the emperor gained time till the reinforcements from Flanders and Italy arrived. Mean while duke Maurice invaded Saxony, the defence of which the elector John Frederick had committed to that very ſame prince during his abſence: the two chiefs of the confederacy not agreeing, their army ſeparated, and the elector flew to the defence of his own dominions; theſe he ſoon recovered, and even drove duke Maurice out of Miſnia. The imperial army however, by the late reinforcements, was grown ſo formidable, that the elector Palatine, the duke of of Wurtemberg and the free cities in Suabia withdrew themſelves from the confederacy. The emperor marched his army with all expedition into Bohemia, from whence he penetrated into Saxony: the elector betrayed by his miniſters, divided his forces, in order to harraſs the imperial army; but his troops were ſurpriſed and defeated in the neighbourhood of Mulberg on the Elbe, and the elector himſelf was taken priſoner: the emperor pronounced ſentence of death upon that prince, but this puniſhment was changed into a kind of capitulation, by which the unfortunate captive renounced the electoral dignity, and reſigned the duchy of Saxony and Thuringia to his couſin Maurice. This prince was inveſted with the electorate the next year at the diet of Augſburg: the landgrave was alſo obliged to make his ſubmiſſion, and the confederacy

The Proteſtant allies are defeated at the battle of Mulberg.

1547.

confederacy of Smalkalde being quite overpowered, the Proteſtants were loaded with heavy contributions *.

Duke Albert commands the imperial army againſt Pomerania.

WHILE Charles V. was thus triumphant in Saxony, he conferred the command of a body of troops on duke Albert, with directions to act againſt Philip and Barnim, dukes of Pomerania, who had detached a ſquadron of three hundred horſe to ſtrengthen the confederate army. The forces under duke Albert had been raiſed in Weſtphalia, and conſiſted of twenty-one cohorts of foot, and one thouſand two hundred horſe; with theſe he was to proceed through Weſtphalia, from thence to force his way into the duchy of Lunenburg, and then to fall upon Pomerania. Duke Albert, in compliance with his orders, marched with the utmoſt expedition towards Lower Saxony, and by the way made himſelf maſter of the county of Lippe, the biſhopricks of Oſnaburg and Minden, with the caſtle of Rietberg, as far as the duchy of Bremen. The news of theſe ſucceſſes ſtruck ſuch a terror into the dukes of Pomerania, that the garriſons of all the ſtrong towns in that province were ordered to be reinforced, the fortreſſes themſelves to be repaired, and all neceſſary preparations made for repelling an invaſion. The ſucceſſes of the imperialiſts alſo prevented Guſtavus from attempting a deſcent in Mecklenburg, while the emperor was at hand to defend that province with a formidable army.

The emperor Charles V. grants great privileges to duke Albert.

THE loyal behaviour of duke Albert on this occaſion, gave ſuch ſatisfaction to Charles V. that, in conſideration of his paſt and preſent ſervices, he publiſhed an imperial reſcript, in which he granted him the following privileges and marks of his imperial favour. 1ſt, To levy a new toll or tax on his ſubjects, for the raiſing of money to diſcharge his debts; and his brother Henry was ordered by an imperial mandate not to oppoſe him. 2. The right and privilege of opening two new harbours, one at Goldenitz, the other at Rekenitz. 3. A recommendation to the ſtates of the empire, as well as to other princes, that they would aſſiſt duke Albert to aſcend the throne of Sweden, as

* Puffendorff, Heiſſe, Barre, Pfeffel, Buckholtz, Franck.

being

being the lawful king of that country: to ſtrengthen this recommendation, the count of Beuren, as the emperor's ſtadtholder in Friſeland, had orders to aſſiſt the duke with a ſquadron of ſhips, and one thouſand land forces. The emperor alſo wrote a letter to Henry VIII. king of England, recommending duke Albert to his protection. 4. The duke and his heirs were exempted from all duties, taxes, or contributions, payable to the empire, till the ſums which that prince had expended in the Daniſh expedition, were diſcharged. 5. The duke was honoured with the title of firſt carver of the empire *.

PRINCES are liberal of grants attended with no inconvenience or expence; but theſe imperial grants or privileges were all rendered ineffectual, by the death of duke Albert, who was ſnatched away in this dawn of proſperity, on the 7th of January, 1547; he was taken ill the beginning of the year, and died at Schwerin, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age: he was buried at Dobberran, and had a monument erected to him near the high altar at Schwerin. J. Simonius has written the following epitaph upon him. 1547. Death of duke Albert.

Frater erat dux pacificus: mihi Martia cordi
Tympana; Danorum id regia capta docet.
Teſtis Lubeca, armatus cui jungo cohortes,
Inque novum regem fervidus arma fero.
Marchio Septemvir præſtanti corpore natam
Mi locat, at placidus poſt mala fata abeo.

DUKE Albert was born the 25th of July 1486, and is ſaid to have been the handſomeſt prince in the empire; his picture on Saint Mary's altar at Sternberg, ſhews him to have had ſparkling eyes, and a fair complexion; his learning and abilities were diſplayed at the diet of Augſburg in 1530. His dominions were His character.

* This office is ſaid to have been inſtituted by the emperor Charles IV. in 1354, in favour of Wenceſlaus, duke of Luxemburg, who died without iſſue: according to the general opinion, it was revived as we have already mentioned, in favour of duke Albert at the coronation of Ferdinand, king of the Romans in 1532, where the duke performed ſo dexterouſly as a carver at the royal table.

too confined for his heroic ſpirit, which made him aſpire to crowns; but fortune did not ſecond his ambition. Yet upon the death of the emperor Maximilian I. the princes of the empire had caſt their eyes on duke Albert, as a proper candidate among the reſt for the imperial dignity. In the moſt arduous undertakings he was very ſteady, and not eaſily deterred by difficulties; he was ſincere in his dealings, moderate in his pleaſures, and a lover of juſtice and truth: in regard to his religion, indeed, he was ſomewhat wavering, and it ſeemed for a long time dubious whether he was a catholic or a proteſtant, but policy made him incline to the former ſide: as his diſpoſition was changeable ſo was his fortune; and when he ſeemed juſt ready to graſp the fruit, it withered away. He had planned the conqueſt of Pomerania, from whence he intended to tranſport an army into Sweden, in order to place himſelf upon that throne; but theſe mighty projects vaniſhed like ſmoke, and death put an end to his ſanguine hopes, which were buried with him in the grave.

His marriages, and iſſue.

DUKE Albert was married to Anna, daughter of Joachim I. margrave of Brandenburg, which was the fourth alliance with the houſe of Hohenzollern: this princeſs departed this life in 1567; he had by her eight ſons and two daughters; theſe were Magnus V. John Albert I. Ulric II. George, Anna, Lewis, Chriſtopher, Sophia, John X. and Charles: Magnus V. Lewis, and John X. died in their infancy; Lewis was born at Copenhagen, where he alſo departed this life; princeſs Sophia likewiſe died young; Anna was born in 1533, ſhe was wife to Gotlieb Kettler, the firſt duke of Courland, and died in 1602.

THERE were five princes living when duke Albert reſigned his laſt breath; of theſe John Albert I. Ulric II. and George ſucceeded their father in his ſhare of the duchy of Mecklenburg; the other two were Chriſtopher and Charles.

Account of duke Chriſtopher of Mecklenburg.

DUKE Chriſtopher was born in 1537; as he was under age at the death of his father, duke Henry and John Albert I. his elder brother were his guardians. The Proteſtants having entered

entered into a league with the French king, againſt the emperor Charles V. Soon after the ſiege of Magdeburg, Chriſtopher was ſent as a hoſtage into France, together with Philip the younger, landgrave of Heſſe: his brother ſoon after contrived to raiſe him to the biſhopric of Ratzeburg, which he purchaſed of biſhop Chriſtopher of Schulenburg. The occaſion of this purchaſe, was, that Schulenburg grown tired of a ſingle life, would fain be joined in Hymen's bands to a lady of exquiſite beauty; but dreading the conſequences, on account of his ſacred office, he thought proper, in order to avoid any diſpute, to reſign his biſhopric for a valuable conſideration. The purchaſe being made, duke Chriſtopher took up his reſidence in the caſtle of Schoneburg, and obliged the whole chapter to embrace the Lutheran religion: by the intereſt of his brother duke John Albert, and his brother-in-law duke Albert of Pruſſia, he was afterwards choſen coadjutor to the margrave William of Brandenburg, archbiſhop of Riga, brother to the above-mentioned duke Albert: here he met with a ſeries of misfortunes, as will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory. 1554.

Duke Chriſtopher was twice married, firſt to Dorothea, daughter of Frederick I. king of Denmark; and ſecondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Guſtavus I. king of Sweden: by the former he had no iſſue; by the latter he had a daughter, Margaret Elizabeth, born in 1584, and married in 1611 to her couſin, duke John Albert II. ſhe died in 1616; her father duke Chriſtopher ended his days in 1592.

Account of duke Charles of Mecklenburg.

Duke Charles I. was born in 1540; he led a very retired life, and poſſeſſed the commandery of Mirow: upon the death of his brother Chriſtopher in 1592, he was choſen biſhop of Ratzeburg; and upon the demiſe of duke Ulric II. in 1603, he became duke regent of Guſtrow; of this latter event we ſhall have occaſion to take farther notice in its proper place: he died at a very advanced age in 1610, but left no iſſue, having paſſed his life in a ſtate of celibacy *.

* Chemn. Latom. Beehr, Kluver, Hubner, Spener, Buckh. Franck.

CHAP. VIII.

Containing the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation in the duchy of MECKLENBURG.

The firſt preacher of Luther's doctrine at Roſtock. Duke Henry's conduct with regard to the Reformation. He promotes the Proteſtant religion, and is ſupported by his ſon prince Magnus. Duke Albert oppoſes the Reformation. Duke Henry is aſſiſted by Luther himſelf. The new liturgy. Duke Henry declines entering into the league of Smalkalde.

WE return now to duke Henry the Peaceable, and propoſe to give an account of the moſt important tranſaction of his reign, namely, the eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion in the duchy of Mecklenburg.

The firſt preacher of Lutheraniſm at Roſtock.

THE firſt teacher of Luther's doctrine in this country made his appearance in the city of Roſtock: this was Joachim Schluter, a native of Domitz, who had ſtudied at Wittemberg, under that celebrated reformer. Providence often makes uſe of weak inſtruments to accompliſh great deſigns: this man was conſpicuous neither for riches nor preferments, but followed the humble profeſſion of a ſchoolmaſter at Roſtock, where he began to preach againſt the errors of the church of Rome in 1523. The chapter of Saint James's and the profeſſors of the univerſity, oppoſed him at firſt with great vehemence, ſo that he was baniſhed by the ſenate for three quarters of a year: but duke Henry interpoſing, his ſentence was revoked, and he met with encouragement from the populace: it was not long however before the ſame preacher began to ſpread the reformed doctrines, among the great, and at length he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the whole ſenate converted to the Proteſtant religion: he died in 1532 at an early period of life, and was ſuſpected to have

have been poiſoned by the oppoſers of his tenets. This zealous man had a coadjutor named John Kutzer, who was alſo a native of Domitz. Among other places that embraced the Reformation early in this country, we muſt reckon: 1. Parchim, where George Lannies began to propagate the reformed religion in 1528, under the direction of Luther himſelf: 2. Schwerin, duke Henry's reſidence, where Ægidius Faber, a native of Hungary, and Martin Sachſe, were invited by duke Henry, in 1528, at the requeſt of the inhabitants, to preach the pure doctrines of the Goſpel *.

Duke Henry's conduct in regard to the Reformation.

In the beginning duke Henry had not openly eſpouſed, but only connived at the progreſs of the Reformation; but after he had thoroughly examined the Confeſſion of the Proteſtant princes at the diet of Augſburg in 1530, he determined to renounce the Romiſh religion. He had indeed entertained a favourable opinion of the reformed doctrine from its earlieſt appearance, and on that account maintained a regular correſpondence with Luther. The prudence of this prince at that memorable revolution, is greatly to be admired; for he did not ruſh headlong into ſo important a change, but maturely examined into the grounds of the Reformation, and ſeriouſly deliberated, whether it was as juſt and neceſſary a meaſure as the enemies of the Romiſh perſuaſion reported: after he had ſufficiently weighed theſe points, he thought it his duty to embrace the Proteſtant religion. Hence it is, that although he had not openly joined with thoſe the Auguſtan confeſſion, yet that form of faith having been demonſtrated to his ſatisfaction at the imperial diet; he reſolved not to oppoſe its teachers, but rather to introduce the doctrine itſelf into his own dominions.

He promotes the doctrines of Luther, and is aſſiſted by his ſon prince Magnus.

Upon his return from the diet of Augſburg, duke Henry began to fill the churches throughout the country with paſtors well grounded in the Proteſtant faith: in this ſtep he was aſſiſted by his brother-in-law, the duke of Saxony, and by Luther himſelf, who deputed ſome men of learning on the ſame

* Bacm. Hiſt. Eccl. Roſt. Cordes. Chron. Parch. Chemn. Latom. Griefin Life of Joachim Schluter.

commiſſion. His ſon, prince Magnus, who, in quality of biſhop of Schwerin, had moſt of the churches of Mecklenburg under his care, greatly contributed to the ſame end, and ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions a ſtrenuous promoter of the Proteſtant cauſe. Magnus was choſen biſhop of Schwerin in 1516, in his ſeventh year; and his father had the adminiſtration of the temporalities of his dioceſe, till he came to a proper age. He was reckoned the moſt learned prince of his time; of which he gave convincing proofs by his eloquent orations in the Latin tongue, in 1530, before the emperor and the imperial diet at Augſburg. He was the firſt biſhop in Germany that embraced the Reformation; and the firſt of that order who entered into the matrimonial ſtate. At the provincial diet of Parchim, in 1538, he made a propoſal, that the ſtates ſhould contribute to the reformation in the church: this excellent prince, whoſe memory is dear to Mecklenburg, on account of the zeal with which he promoted the cauſe of true religion, was by a premature fate ſnatched from the world in his youth, and died before his father, univerſally regretted.

Duke Albert oppoſes the Reformation.

DUKE Albert would not conſent to the propoſal of the biſhop of Schwerin, leſt he ſhould incur the emperor's diſpleaſure. His brother and the ſtates, however, were regardleſs of his indifference, and uſed all their endeavours to provide the churches with Proteſtant miniſters; but as they met with conſtant oppoſition from this prince, the Reformation was not completely eſtabliſhed in Mecklenburg till after his deceaſe. It muſt be acknowledged upon the whole, that the conduct of duke Albert with regard to religion was very ambiguous; he ſeemed however, to be ſo far convinced of the juſtice of the Proteſtant cauſe, that even his apologies themſelves betrayed his ſentiments, and but feebly obſtructed duke Henry's proceedings.

Duke Henry is aſſiſted by Luther himſelf.

THAT the princes of Saxony and Luther himſelf, were always conſulted by duke Henry, appears from the whole tenour of the letters, which paſſed on both ſides, and from the teachers who were ſent to Mecklenburg by Luther. We have already taken notice, that George Lannies, the firſt paſtor of Parchim, had

had been recommended by that celebrated reformer in 1528: to the ſame recommendation this country was indebted for that zealous paſtor, John Riebling, the firſt ſuperintendant of Parchim in 1536, who afterwards aſſiſted at the firſt church viſitation in 1541 *.

The new Liturgy.

THE change of religion required a new liturgy, or common prayer; this at length was effected by the great viſitation of the churches of Mecklenburg, which the duke ſet on foot in 1541: even before that time there was a new kind of eccleſiaſtick government; but during the life of duke Albert, it could not be extended throughout the whole country, for he had taken the Roman catholics under his protection. Upon that prince's deceaſe in 1547, as the Reformation had then no powerful oppoſer, and as his ſons were partly converted to, and partly educated in the Proteſtant religion; the new doctrines gained ground apace, and at length were fully eſtabliſhed at the diet of Sternberg in 1550. Soon after the paſſing of this law for the ſettlement of religion, duke Henry departed this life, and his brother's ſon, duke John Albert I. carried it into execution in 1553. This tranſaction, it is true, happened in the next reign; but not to interrupt the thread of our hiſtory, we ſhall throw into one view what concerns the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation.

1550. The Reformation eſtabliſhed. 1553.

DUKE John Albert ordered a ſecond church-viſitation throughout the land, and inſtituted a new eccleſiaſtical government. In conſequence of this ordinance, the ſeveral pariſhes were provided with Proteſtant paſtors; the univerſity of Roſtock was new-modelled, and ſupplied with able profeſſors; and all the uſeleſs convents and ſpiritual foundations were ſequeſtered. This is a ſummary of the progreſs of the Reformation in Mecklenburg; but, for the ſatisfaction of the curious in eccleſiaſtical matters, we ſhall here give a more circumſtantial account of this important event.

* Bacm. Chemn. Latom. Beehr, Kluver, Franck, Seckendorff.

WITH

The churh-viſitation.

WITH regard to the church-viſitation in 1541, it was made by the abovementioned ſuperintendent of Parchim, John Riebling, and two ducal counſellors, Conrad Pentzen, and Simon Lippold. On this occaſion it appeared, that the Reformation was not yet ſo thoroughly propagated in this country, as duke Henry could wiſh; which was owing to the oppoſition of duke Albert. On the other hand the Proteſtants were induced by this very oppoſition to redouble their zeal for the cauſe of their religion: the liturgy publiſhed in 1540 contains the canons of the churches of Mecklenburg, with ſome other matters relating to religious ceremonies: it is written in the low German dialect, in which they commonly preached at that time in Mecklenburg; ſome are of opinion that it was publiſhed without any authority, as being anonymous; and therefore, conſider it as aboliſhed. The latter we might grant perhaps, becauſe the above liturgy was ſuperſeded by that of duke John Albert, in 1553: but that it came out without any kind of authority we can hardly conceive: for although the real author of that liturgy be not known, yet no body would have preſumed to make ſuch an eccleſiaſtical regulation without being nominated to that office. The liturgy of 1553 was publiſhed by Philip Melancthon, in the name of duke John Albert; it differs from that which afterwards came out in 1557, in this reſpect only, that the latter had the ſanction of no other name than that of the duke.

Progreſs of the Reformation.

AFTER the death of duke Albert, the Reformation made a very rapid progreſs: duke John Albert his ſon immediately declared himſelf of the Proteſtant religion, and appointed Gerard Oemichen of Guſtrow provoſt of St. Cecilia, and firſt ſuperintendent; this man ſignalized his zeal, by introducing Proteſtant teachers, and extirpating the Romiſh worſhip. The eſtabliſhment of the Reformation in 1553, was owing to the edict of Charles V. called the Interim, which was proclaimed throughout Germany, after that emperor had deprived the elector John Frederick of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Heſſe, of their liberty: on this occaſion the duke of Mecklenburg received orders from the imperial court, to put the edict

into execution. The duke held an aſſembly of the ſtates at Sternberg, that he might take their opinion at ſo critical a conjuncture: the ſtates adviſed him to reject the emperor's propoſal; and both they and the duke gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the ſuperintendents of Parchim and Gœſtrow, that they would live and die in the belief of the Confeſſion of Augſburg. The above tranſaction happened in 1549, and was ratified at the ſecond diet of Sternberg in 1550: in this aſſembly it was alſo reſolved to throw off the remains of the old leaven; the whole was ſettled in 1553, when the church-viſitation was undertaken anew under the management of doctor John Aurifaber, profeſſor of Roſtock, John Lucanus, chancellor, John Riebling, ſuperintendent of Parchim, and Simon Lippolden, who rejected every part of the ancient worſhip, which they apprehended to be any way contrary to the evangelical doctrines. In conſequence of this determination, abbeys and convents were diſſolved; and thoſe now ſubſiſting in the country of Mecklenburg are ſuch as were deſtined to the ſupport and education of young women of quality.

Duke Henry would not enter into the league of Smalkalde.

BUT duke Henry, notwithſtanding his great zeal and attachment to the Proteſtant cauſe, had no inclination to involve himſelf in a religious war. This is the reaſon, that when the allies of Smalkalde ſollicited this prince to join in the confederacy for ſupporting their religion by force of arms, he declined entering into their meaſures: he promiſed, however, that he would not be concerned in any league againſt them; and that he would give them no moleſtation or hindrance in defending their religion. And, in order to remove all ſuſpicion of his ſincerity, he inſiſted, but in vain, at every diet of the empire, on a general reformation of the church.

Hiſtory of that league.

THE league of Smalkalde, as we have already obſerved, was formed ſoon after the preſenting of the Confeſſion of Augſburg, and conſiſted of thoſe princes and ſtates who had ſigned that Confeſſion. This league laſted fifteen years, during which time the confederates were joined by ſeveral other princes; duke Henry was invited to accede to it in 1536, after it had continued

five

five years, when it was renewed for ten years longer. The invitation was not diſagreeable to the duke; and, in all probability, he would have readily embraced it, had he not been diſſuaded from it by his chancellor, Gaſpar Schoneich. The chancellor's reaſons were as follow: the opinions of mankind in regard to that alliance were various: Luther's example greatly contributed to bring it into diſcredit, ſince it met with the diſapprobation of that celebrated reformer; but Luther judged as a divine, and the confederate princes acted in a very different capacity. Luther often declared it was his will and deſire, which he hoped in God would be fulfilled, that ſo long as he lived, there might be no war in Germany on the account of religion *. And the event anſwered his wiſhes, for the war between the emperor and the Proteſtant confederates did not break out till after his death. But duke Henry had many reaſons of ſtate for declining this alliance; he perceived very plainly, that it conſiſted of too great a number of chiefs, who ſeemed not at all diſpoſed to yield the ſupreme command to any of their own body; and that, for want of a proper ſubordination, ſhould a war unfortunately break out, they would be thrown into confuſion; farther, he was ſenſible that the emperor and the catholic party were ſtill too powerful, and ſhould any ill ſucceſs attend the league, the conſequence would be fatal to his family; beſides, he had obſerved that ſeveral Proteſtant princes had withdrawn themſelves from the alliance, and even joined with the emperor againſt the Smalkalders. Theſe and the like conſiderations had ſuch a weight with the duke, that the country

* Luther ſeems to have laboured under great perplexity of mind, on account of theſe diſturbances, as appears from the following lines in his own hand-writing, which the author of this hiſtory ſaw at the reverend Mr. Gentzmer's at Stargard, in Mecklenburg, in 1766; they were written on a blank page in 1542, in a New Teſtament in Greek, printed at Hagenau in 1521, by Anſelmus Badenſis.

In tenebris noſtræ et denſa caligine mentis,
Cum nihil eſt toto pectore conſilii,
Turbati erigimus, Deus, ad te lumina cordis,
Noſtra tuamque fides ſolius orat opem.
Tu rege conſiliis actus pater optime noſtros,
Noſtrum opus ut laudi ſerviat omne tuæ.

of

of Mecklenburg continued to enjoy a profound peace, while the dominions belonging to the allies of Smalaklde were miſerably expoſed to all the horrors of a civil and religious war *.

SUCH was this wiſe prince's conduct with regard to religious affairs; we ſhall now view him in another light, and trace his behaviour as a patron and encourager of the Muſes.

CHAP. IX.

Of the reſtoration of learning, and particularly in Mecklenburg. State of the univerſity of Roſtock. Encouragement given to literature by duke Henry the Peaceable. Death and character of duke Henry. His marriages and iſſue. Account of his ſon Magnus, biſhop of Schwerin, and of princeſs Urſula, daughter of duke Henry.

Reſurrection of letters in Europe.

ALL ſublunary things are ſubject to change; even the arts and ſciences are not exempt from revolutions: ſometimes, as in a hard winter, they lie wild and diſregarded; ſometimes they bloſſom and flouriſh as in genial ſpring: but when riſen to a conſiderable height, and yielding plenty of delicious fruit, they fade, as in autumn, and ſoon verge to decay. Theſe viciſſitudes are not merely fortuitous, but depend upon a concurrence of certain cauſes, by which the arts and ſciences neceſſarily riſe or fall. Learning and politeneſs are uſually in a flouriſhing ſtate, when princes and great men pay a proper regard to ingenuity and to literary merit, according to the poet's obſervation,

" Sint Mecænates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones;"

when competent means are not wanting for the ſupport and encouragement of perſons employed in the liberal arts; when tranquillity and peace make nations flouriſh; and a communication is eaſily opened between men who are treading in the ſame path of literature; not to mention ſeveral other cauſes and circumſtances conducive to the advancement of learning. Hence it is, that

* Seb. Bacm. Chytr. Saxon. Seckend. Hiſt. Luth.

when princes and great men make ſenſual gratifications their chief object, when the contempt of fame is attended with that of public virtue; when favours and preferments are beſtowed on ſycophants and paraſites, without any regard to capacity or merit; when, in fine, external wars or domeſtic diſſenſions interrupt the happy tranquillity of a ſtate; the Muſes droop, fair Science retires, and gloomy Ignorance begins her iron reign.

THUS in the fourth and following centuries, when the barbarous nations of the North ſpread the terror of their arms over Europe, great ignorance prevailed in the weſtern world, and the darkneſs increaſed from age to age. But upon the diſſolution of the eaſtern empire, by the taking of Conſtantinople, men of letters ſeeking refuge in Italy, and other countries, imported thither the Greek language, which ſoon came into general eſteem. The Grecian Muſes having thus ſettled in Italy, France, and Germany, men of ingenuity and parts were ſeen to vie with each other, in a manner almoſt unparalleled, by applying themſelves to the ſciences, and to the learned languages, which had been ſo long neglected. The ſtudy of the Hebrew tongue was likewiſe much about this time again brought into repute, by Reuchlinus and others, who promoted the reading of the ſcriptures in their original language.

YET never could the liberal arts and ſciences have attained to ſuch a height of improvement, had not the ineſtimable art * of printing been invented much about the ſame time, that is, in the fifteenth century; by this invention, the works of learned men were reduced to a moderate price, and became of more general uſe; the tranſcribing of manuſcripts having been attended with immenſe labour and expence. Thus did every thing co-operate with the views of Providence, in diſpelling the deep miſt, which had long involved the weſtern world, that the light of the goſpel might ſhine forth in unſullied luſtre. The reformation of religion then kept pace with that of learning; and as the liberal arts and ſciences revived, the church

* See vol. II. p. 406.

recovered its former ſplendor: when barbariſm was expelled the ſchools, the leaven of error and abuſe was removed from the temples.

And it is not a little remarkable, that at this happy period, the arts and ſciences found eminent patrons in moſt parts of Europe, ſuch as the illuſtrious houſe of Medici in Italy, and that generous monarch Francis I. in a neighbouring kingdom. Perſons even of the higheſt rank were ſo inflamed with the love of literary improvement, as to beſtow their leiſure hours in the cultivation of their minds, and to apply themſelves with indefatigable ardour in training up their children to ſolid erudition. To this example and encouragement it was owing, that there appeared nearly at the ſame time, and in moſt places, ſuch a number of learned perſons, who expoſed the evils of the former darkneſs, pointed out the low ſtate of the liberal arts, laid open the late barbariſm in all its odious appearances, and facilitated the introduction of the arts and ſciences into their reſpective countries. This was a felicity, which the great Eraſmus cannot help admiring in ſeveral of his epiſtles, where he deſcants on the amazing changes wrought in ſo ſhort a ſpace in the literary world, and the ſudden advancement of the arts and ſciences in moſt parts of Europe *. As that learned man expreſſes his high ſatisfaction at the extraordinary improvement of the Latin tongue, no leſs does Aldus Manutius ſeem to be amazed at the progreſs of the Greek language, as appears by the dedication of his Stephanus de Urbibus, printed at Venice in 1502. The memory of Aldus is highly to be revered, ſince we may conſider him as one of the chief reſtorers of Greek literature, for he ſpared neither pains nor expence in publiſhing the beſt writers in that language. He is reckoned the firſt that printed a Greek author; and ſo very accurate was he in his editions, working off at moſt but one ſheet a week, that they are held of almoſt of equal authority with manuſcripts. Eraſmus indeed laments, that Aldus publiſhed none but profane writers; but

* See his Epiſtle to Ammerbachius in 1518, lib. xv. epiſt. 17.

ſince the capital view of that very learned man was to revive the Greek literature, it was certainly incumbent upon him, to give the preference to the pureſt writers, and eſpecially to thoſe in whom we diſcover the richeſt ſtores of Grecian learning.

Reſtoration of learning in Mecklenburg.

BUT as the light of divine truth firſt broke forth, after ſo many ages of darkneſs, from the univerſity of Wittemberg in Saxony; to that alſo belongs the honour of having firſt purified the languages and other parts of learning from their former droſs, and reduced them to a more elegant form. As Luther was the reformer of divinity, ſo Melancthon was the reſtorer of elegant literature: theſe two great men were indeed the general preceptors of Germany; and to their inſtruction it was indebted for the firſt polite ſcholars, as well as for the firſt evangelical teachers. From the above univerſity the church of Mecklenburg derives the purity of its worſhip, and the univerſity of Roſtock its improvement in every branch of learning; the chief inſtruments that eſtabliſhed its reputation, having ſtudied at Wittemberg, and been recommended by that univerſity; ſuch as Burenius, Chytræus, and others.

WHAT not a little contributed to the reſtoration of learning in Mecklenburg, was the happy diſpoſition of ſeveral of its princes in favour of the literati, and the ſingular attention and goodneſs with which they took the diſtreſſed Muſes under their protection. The firſt prince under whoſe adminiſtration the late darkneſs of ſuperſtition and ignorance was diſpelled, and under whom the light of true religion and ſcience again broke forth in this rejoicing country, was Henry the Peaceable: during the tranquility of his reign, they aſſumed a new and chearful appearance; whereas before that happy period, Roſtock, the very temple and ſeat of the Mecklenburg Muſes, was almoſt ſunk under the general decline of literature. So bare was it of profeſſors, that Nicolaus Leo was obliged to fill the office of rector Magnificus ſix years ſucceſſively; and as for men of real erudition, ſcarce any were to be found. The monkiſh ſyſtem of learning ſtill maintained its ground, and every attempt to explode it was conſidered as a dangerous innovation. However,

Mr.

Mr. Schluter, the firſt Lutheran preacher in this country, foreſaw from the circumſtances of the times, that this forlorn univerſity would ſoon emerge out of its obſcurity; for in a public diſcourſe from the pulpit, he thus expreſſes himſelf, "Remember "what I ſay; I am only a mean perſon, an humble ſervant of "Chriſt; but when I am gone, God will raiſe both for the "church and this univerſity, men of eminent parts and learn-"ing, the latchets of whoſe ſhoes I am not worthy to unlooſe *.

The univerſity of Roſtock was founded in 1419, by John VII. and Albert V. dukes of Mecklenburg †, and favoured with particular privileges by pope Martin V. Its beginning was very auſpicious, and ſtudents flocked to this ſeat of learning from all parts; yet before the expiration of the fifteenth century it fell to decline from various cauſes, but chiefly from the violent contentions between the ſovereign and the citizens of Roſtock. The plague had alſo more than once driven away the ſtudents, eſpecially that which raged in 1518, when the profeſſors deſerted their ſtations for want of employment. The profeſſorſhips being thus unoccupied, the ſalaries were withdrawn, and the univerſity ſeemed to be upon the eve of its extinction. At length duke Henry the Peaceable took compaſſion of its forlorn ſtate, and at the ſollicitation of his ſon duke Magnus, condeſcended to provide that ſeat of the Muſes with a new profeſſor, the celebrated Arnoldus Burenius: this very learned man began to hold public lectures at Roſtock with great applauſe in 1530, and the duke afterwards appointed a freſh ſupply of public teachers, all of the Proteſtant religion. To ſo flouriſhing a ſtate did the univerſity arrive in 1547, that it boaſted of no leſs than eighteen profeſſors.

The typographical art, which had its riſe a little before the Reformation, greatly contributed to the progreſs of learning, as well to that of religion in Roſtock. The firſt printing-houſe in that city was ſet up ſo early as the year 1510; beſides many

* Franck. Behr, Buckholtz, Bacmeiſter, Hiſt. of the Reformation of Learning in Mecklenburg.

† See vol. II. p. 370.

other

other uſeful books, which came from that preſs; there was printed the firſt Bible in the Saxon and Daniſh languages. About the ſame time Mareſchallus Thurius, that celebrated profeſſor of Roſtock, kept one Gunther Winter, a printer, in his houſe, to print his writings, as appears from Thurius's books, at the end of which are theſe words: *Impreſſum Roſtochii in Ædibus Thuriis, a viro celebri Gunthero, cognomento Hyeme, Erphordiano.* From the ſame preſs his *Inſtitutiones Reipublicæ militaris ac civilis*, made their appearance in 1515. The author of the Hamburg Bibliotheca Hiſtorica, Cent. II. ſeems to think this printing-houſe to have been the earlieſt in Roſtock: if we may conclude from *Thurii Opera*, printed by Winter, his preſs was but indifferently conducted; for, beſides many other blemiſhes, it abounds with the obſolete monkiſh abbreviations. But Dietz's printing-houſe was undoubtedly the firſt in Roſtock, which worked for the univerſity and the public in general; and it muſt be mentioned to its honour and reputation, that authors of great fame ſent their works from ſeveral other parts to be printed at Dietz's preſs.

Thus, under the protection and encouragement of its princely patron, the arts and ſciences had eſtabliſhed a firm ſeat in Mecklenburg; hence it was, that this country proved a ſure haven, and comfortable aſylum to many learned perſons, who fled thither from Saxony after Luther's deceaſe, when the unhappy league of Smalkalde had thrown that electorate into a general combuſtion.

Among the ſeveral learned rectors, who did honour to the univerſity of Roſtock, under the auſpicious reign of Henry the Peaceable, the moſt deſerving of notice are:

I. D. Adamus Traziger, who publiſhed the chronicles of Hamburg in the German language: Petrus Lambudus makes honourable mention of him in his *Origines Hamburgenſes.* He was profeſſor of law, and gave lectures on juriſprudence, before he came to Roſtock, in the univerſity of Frankfort on the Oder. He was a man of great abilities, which raiſed him to the dignity of rector of this univerſity, where he was at firſt highly reſpected;

reſpected; and conſulted by perſons from different parts of Germany, as appears by the *Reſponſa juriſconſultorum Germaniæ*; but he loſt his credit by the ſingularity of his doctrine, in maintaining, *That ſimple fornication is no ſin.* This involved him in warm diſputes with the divines, who prevailed with duke Henry to expel him from Roſtock: from thence he went to Hamburg, where he became a canon and ſyndic; and accepted afterwards of an invitation from the duke of Holſtein Gottorp, who in 1588 made him chancellor. He lived at variance with his wife, probably on account of his doctrine about fornication, and met with an unhappy end, for falling out of the poſt carriage, as he was going from Hamburg to Gottorp, he broke his neck.

II. The univerſity of Roſtock was infinitely more indebted to Conradius Pegelius, whoſe name we find five times in the liſt of its rectors. He was a man of excellent morals, and celebrated for his extenſive erudition: he had been preceptor to duke Magnus, ſon of duke Henry, with whom he carried on a conſtant correſpondence by letters; after he had been nominated academical profeſſor. The learned Chytræus takes notice of having ſeen above a hundred epiſtles, moſtly in Latin, in the duke's own hand to Conradus Pegelius, highly commending the piety and learning of his quondam preceptor. The *Scripta Academiæ Roſtochienſis*, from the year 1560 to 1567, make frequent mention of this learned perſon: he died at a very advanced age, at Roſtock, in the year 1567.

III. But Roſtock owes the greateſt obligations to Arnoldus Burenius, who was the chief reſtorer of learning in that univerſity. This ingenious perſon was born in Weſtphalia, in 1485, of poor parents, and made his ſtudies at Wittemberg, where learning began to dawn, and where he was a pupil of the celebrated Philip Melancthon: his merit ſoon raiſed him to a very high eſteem, and he was particularly favoured by the court of Saxony, where he reſided ſome time as preceptor to the electoral princes. In his thirty-ninth year, he was invited by duke Henry the Peaceable to the court of Schwerin, to ſuperintend the

the education of his ſon Magnus: this weighty office he diſcharged ſix years, greatly to the ſatisfaction of duke Henry; when Magnus being of age, and made biſhop of Schwerin, duke Henry ſent Burenius to Roſtock, in order to revive the ſciences, which had been for ſome time drooping at that univerſity. He lived in the academical houſe, called the Eagle, and began to give public and private lectures: there he became acquainted with Conradus Pegelius, duke Magnus's firſt preceptor, and they both laboured with indefatigable induſtry in the ſame vineyard: from this time forward the univerſity began to flouriſh, academical diſcipline was reſtored, the Muſes were courted, and religion reſpected. In 1539, when he was fifty-four years old, he took his Gradus Magiſterii, and departed this life in 1566 in his eighty-firſt year: the great Melancthon held this learned man in high eſteem, and uſed to ſay of him, *Ubi Arnoldus ibi ſchola*. In ſhort he raiſed the diſcipline of this univerſity to ſuch a pitch, that the ſame Melancthon gives it the preference to many other academies, and wrote a ſet diſcourſe in 1566, entitled, *De diſciplina Scholæ Roſtochianæ* *.

The univerſity of Roſtock being now raiſed to ſo flouriſhing a ſtate, perſons of high rank and eminence began to court the title of rector magnificus of that ſeat of the Muſes, which was conſidered over all Germany as a mark of dignity and reſpect. Among theſe illuſtrious names, we may reckon the following rectors; William, duke of Lunenburg and Brunſwick, anno 1575; John Guſtavus Roſa, count of Boſunt, and lord of Lindenholm in Sweden, 1576; John Cyriacus, baron of Polhaim and Wartemburg, alſo in 1576; William, duke of Courland, in 1591; Ulrick, duke of Sleſwick, brother to Chriſtian III. king of Denmark, in 1592; Auguſtus duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, 1593; Ulric, duke of Pomerania, 1602; not to mention ſeveral others of noble birth, and equally con-

* The learned Caſelius in his oration, *De Laudibus Elizabethæ Cimbricæ*, beſtows the following encomium on Burenius: Idemque primus fuit, qui ſuperiorum ſæculorum inſcitiæ atque infantiæ detecta & abſterſa caligine, bonas literas in academia noſtra recte diſerteque juventuti tradidit.

ſpicuous

ſpicuous for their profound erudition; neither ſhould we forget, that before this flouriſhing period, ſeveral princes of the houſe of Mecklenburg had been adorned with the ſame academical dignity, as duke Balthaſar in 1467 and 1470, and duke Eric in 1499 and 1500 *.

Such were the happy conſequences of duke Henry's patronizing the Muſes, that religion and learning ſpread themſelves throughout the country; and this able and wiſe prince was adored by the literati as a munificent Mæcenas: he had now attained to the ſummit of felicity, when he found himſelf ſuddenly attacked by a diſorder which put an end to his days in 1552, after a reign of forty years, at ſeventy-two years of age: his ſtrict regard to juſtice and love of literature rendered him a real *Pater Patriæ*, on which account his death was the more lamented: he was ſincere in his religion, being thoroughly acquainted with the fundamentals of chriſtianity; and his daily prayer was, "Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, O Lord; for in "thy ſight ſhall no man living be juſtified." His gentle behaviour to all mankind, and eſpecially to his brother, during the long altercations concerning the regency, procured him, as we have already obſerved, the title of Peaceable, a title more glorious, than that of *Conqueſtor*, *Leo*, *Urſus*, or even of *Magnus*. He was interred in the catheral of Schwerin, by order of duke John Albert, who intended to make this the burying place of the family, inſtead of the convent of Dobberan.

His marriages and iſſue.

He was thrice married; 1ſt, to Urſula, daughter of John, elector of Brandenburg, and ſiſter to the elector Joachim. This was the third match between thoſe two houſes; that of his brother Albert, with princeſs Anne of Brandenburg being the fourth: 2d, to Helena, daughter of Philip, elector Palatine: 3d, in his old age, to Urſula, daughter of Magnus, duke of Saxe Lawenburg. This laſt princeſs he eſpouſed after the death of his ſon, duke Magnus, on account of the imbecility of his ſon Philip, and in expectation of getting more heirs: but

* Franck, Buckholtz, Æpinus, Hiſt. of the Reformation of Learning in Mecklenburg.

his hopes were fruſtrated, for he had no iſſue by his third wife, who ſurvived her huſband; he left her the town of Schwan for her dower, but duke John Albert bought it of her for nineteen thouſand florins, and ſhe ſpent the remainder of her days at Minden.

Account of his ſon Magnus, biſhop of Schwerin.

His iſſue by his firſt wife were Magnus IV. Sophia, and Urſula. Duke Magnus was born in 1509, and elected biſhop of Schwerin in 1516, when but ſeven years old. The management of the temporalities was undertaken by duke Henry; the ſpiritualities were adminiſtered by the dean and chapter: his father took care to give him an excellent education, in conſequence of which, he made a conſiderable progreſs in literature: his preceptors were Conradus Pegelius and Arnoldus Burenius, who did ſuch great ſervice to the univerſity of Roſtock. The young prince gave extraordinary proofs of his abilities by his eloquent orations in Latin, at the diet of Augſburg in 1530, and before the imperial and pontifical ambaſſadors at Weimar in 1533. In 1532 he aſſumed the government of his biſhoprick, when the dean and chapter took the uſual oaths of ſubjection. He then began to reform the church according to Luther's plan, in which reſpect he followed the advice of John Frederick, elector of Saxony: but in the courſe of this proceeding he met with great oppoſition from his uncle duke Albert, with which however he was not in the leaſt diſcouraged: he aſſiſted his father in promoting the Reformation throughout the country of Mecklenburg; and at the diet of Parchim, in 1538, he made the firſt motion for its reception, ſhewing the neceſſity of this meaſure, in a moſt nervous and elegant ſpeech; yet upon the account of his oath, he would not ſuffer the dean and chapter to be diſturbed in the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion. Thus Schwerin was the firſt biſhoprick in Germany that threw off the papal yoke, and Magnus the firſt Proteſtant Biſhop. In the year 1543 he eſpouſed the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick I. king of Denmark: as he led the way to all the biſhops of Germany, in adopting the tenets of Luther, he was the firſt that ſet the example to that reverend order of entering into

into the conjugal ſtate; a ſtep which he was induced to take in hopes of iſſue, being next heir to his aged father: but his hopes were fruſtrated, for he died at Butzow without offspring, in 1550, to the great grief of duke Henry and all the inhabitants of Mecklenburg *. His marriage gave offence to the pope and to the emperor; but he was under no apprehenſion on that account, being at too great a diſtance from thoſe powers, and cloſely connected in intereſt with Denmark and Sweden.

Account of the princeſs Urſula, daughter of duke Henry.

THE two daughters of Henry the Peaceable by his firſt wife, were Sophia and Urſula; the princeſs Sophia was born in 1507, and married to Erneſtus, duke of Lunenburg, but died in 1541, before her father: the princeſs Urſula was born in 1510, and educated in the convent of Ribnitz under her aunt Dorothea; ſhe was made abbeſs of that convent in 1537,

* He was buried at Dobberan, where his conſort Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick I. king of Denmark, cauſed the following epitaph to be ingraved on his tomb.

Doctrina proavis, nulli virtute ſecundus.
Mecklenburgenſis dux tumulo hoc tegitur,
Nomine Magnus erat, re major at ille futurus,
Improba mors ſaltem ſi voluiſſet, erat.
Acer in adſerto conſtans & pectore verbo
Et vero viguit relligionis apex.
Et pudor, & probitas, & dulcis gratia morum
Certatim donis hunc poliere ſuis.
Eloquio Neſtor felicis acumine mentis
Dulichio valuit non minus ille ſene,
Imperii proceres facundæ munere linguæ,
Aures & mulſit, Carole dive! Tuas.
Judicium, pietas, & rebus in omnibus ardens
Virtus, & patriæ conſtituebat amor.
Illius ex alto Cimbrorum ſanguine conjux
Edita, Friederici filia regis erat.
Quæ Magnum, veluti generoſum Portia Brutum
Humectans lachrymis Elizabeta ſuis,
Condidit hunc vita functum, cinerique quotannis
Ut bene ſit votis officioſa rogat.
Illius occaſu quantum Meckleburgica damni
Stirps tulit, extincti candida fama docet,
Extremum moriens ſolum te Chriſte vocabat,
Cujus in optato jam cubat ille ſinu.

but adhering to the Roman catholic religion, would not conſent to the introduction of the Confeſſion of Augſburg into her monaſtery. As the dukes of Mecklenburg did not moleſt her in the exerciſe of her religion, this indulgence had a good effect at laſt, for in 1556 ſhe altered her opinion, and ſuffered this convent alſo to be reformed. The town of Ribnitz received the benefit of this change, Proteſtant teachers being admitted to preach there that ſame year, after it had been ſo long debarred of that privilege. The reſtraint of religion had been intirely owing to the oppoſition of the princeſs Urſula, who had the patronage of the parochial church: the convent was not ſequeſtered like the reſt, but granted to the ſtates of the province in 1572, for the education of gentlemen's daughters. The other two convents of Dobbertin and Malchow, which had been ſequeſtered, were applied to the ſame uſe that very year: the princeſs Urſula died at length in 1586, in a very advanced age.

Duke Henry's iſſue by his ſecond conſort, were Philip, Margaret, and Catharine: duke Philip was born in 1514, and ſucceeded his father, but was incapable of managing public affairs, on account of his imbecility, of which we have already taken notice: he died in 1557, unmarried. Princeſs Margaret came into the world in 1515, was married to Henry, duke of Munſterburg, and died in 1559. Princeſs Catherine drew her firſt breath in 1518, was married to Frederick III. duke of Lignitz, and died in 1581.

By his third wife, duke Henry left no iſſue *.

* Seb. and Luke Bacm. Chytr. Thuan. Sleidan, Lindenberg, Hederich, Beſelin, Beehr, Hubner, Spener, Buckh. Franck.

THE

CHARLOTTE, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c. &c. &c.

THE HISTORY OF VANDALIA.

BOOK VI.

Of the Dukes of MECKLENBURG, from the Death of HENRY the Peaceable, in 1552, to the breaking out of the Thirty Years War in 1618.

WE are entering now upon a period, in which arms give way to laws, and juſtice and religion reign triumphant in Mecklenburg: amidſt the convulſions of the empire, rent by religious and civil broils, the melancholy effects of blind zeal and ambition, we behold bright Aſtræa deſcending once more the ſkies, and diſtributing mild and equitable laws through a happy land. Mecklenburg reſounds with the acclamations of a grateful people, to whom benevolent princes condeſcend to reſtore the rights of humanity. The conſpicuous figure which duke John Albert I. made on this occaſion, has juſtly procured him the title of the Juſtinian of this country: religion and letters continued to gain ground under the auſpices of this and the ſucceeding princes, by whoſe indulgence the conſtitution was ſettled on a ſolid baſis. The privileges granted during this period to the inhabitants of Mecklenburg, are monuments of real grandeur, which will perpetuate the memory of their generous ſovereigns.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

The regency ſettled. Duke John Albert promotes the Reformation, and oppoſes the Interim. Prince George attempts to ſeize the biſhoprick of Schwerin. Duke Ulric elected biſhop of Schwerin. Adventures of prince George. Siege of Magdeburg. The Proteſtant princes prepare for war againſt Charles V. *War declared. Duke John Albert and his brother prince George join the allied army. Prince George killed at the ſiege of Frankfort. The Proteſtants obtain liberty of conſcience by the treaty of Paſſaw. Duke John Albert zealous for the Proteſtant religion. Quarrel about the regency. The two brothers reconciled. Duke John Albert eſpouſes the princeſs of Pruſſia. Diet of Guſtrow.*

DUKES of MECKLENBURG.

JOHN ALBERT I.
ULRIC II. and GEORGE.

EMPERORS of GERMANY.

CHARLES V. - - -	1519
FERDINAND I. - -	1558
MAXIMILIAN II. - -	1564
RODOLPH II. - - -	1576

KINGS and QUEENS of ENGLAND.

EDWARD VI. - - -	1547
MARY - - - -	1553
ELIZABETH - - -	1558

1547. The regency ſettled.

UPON the death of Albert the Handſome, in 1547, duke John Albert, his eldeſt ſon, then in the emperor's ſervice, returned to Mecklenburg, at the deſire of his uncle Henry the Peaceable. The emperor himſelf was greatly concerned at the loſs of duke Albert, and extending to the ſons the benevolence

lence which he had profeſſed for the father, he wrote to duke Henry their uncle, to uſe every endeavour for preventing any diſcord among the brothers, and to ſettle the adminiſtration in an amicable manner. Duke Henry complied with the emperor's deſire, and by his mediation it was ſo agreed, that the adminiſtration ſhould be carried on in the names of the three elder brothers John Albert, Ulric, and George, as being of age; but the eldeſt brother duke John Albert ſhould have the real direction or management for the ſpace of ten years: this was owing to the bad ſituation in which their father had left his finances, which would not allow ſuch a generous maintainance as might be neceſſary to form a ſeparate court for thoſe princes. The other two princes, Chriſtopher and Charles, being minors, were left to the care of their brother John Albert, who was to afford them a proper ſubſiſtence. Duke John Albert was to act alſo as co-regent with his uncle Henry the Peaceable, who held the other half of the duchy of Mecklenburg in his own poſſeſſion. Thus there were two lines, and but one regency *.

THE imperial diet being convened at Augſburg, duke John Albert and duke George repaired to that aſſembly, where they preſented a memorial in the name of themſelves and their brothers to the emperor Charles, and to his brother the king of the Romans, petitioning for ſome redreſs in the caſe of their father's demand of three hundred thouſand florins. The emperor ſent a reſcript to duke Henry their uncle, ordering him to aſſemble the ſtates of the province, and to conſult of ways and means for paying Albert's debts. The ſtates being convened at Wiſmar, agreed to comply with the imperial mandate, after yielding homage to the three young princes, as alſo to Magnus and Philip, the ſons of duke Henry. A tax of two marks upon every *Manſus*, two florins on every houſe, and an additional florin on every tavern or public houſe, was decreed in this aſſembly, and chearfully raiſed throughout the province. The three princes went 1547.

* Chemn. Latom. Beehr, Hubner, Spener, Buckh. Franck.

to Roſtock, where they confirmed, as uſual, the privileges and immunities of the inhabitants.

Duke John Albert promotes the Reformation,

ONE of the firſt ſteps which duke John Albert took upon his acceſſion to the government, was to ſignify to his uncle Henry that he would co-operate with him in every meaſure conducive to the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation. He had been for ſome time of this perſuaſion, yet had been afraid to declare himſelf while his father was living: but now, being at full liberty, he acted with the greateſt zeal in promoting the Proteſtant cauſe.

1548. and oppoſes the *Interim*.

THE diet continuing to ſit this year at Augſburg, the three young dukes regents repaired once more to that aſſembly, in order to receive the inveſtiture of their dominions, and a confirmation of the antient privileges of the duchy of Mecklenburg. At this aſſembly was drawn up the laſt ordinance of the police, and of the public peace; here it was alſo that the emperor publiſhed the famous formulary of faith, called the *Interim*, being to ſerve as a ſymbolical book till the whole ſyſtem of chriſtian doctrine could be ſettled by a general council. But it was a ſcheme that pleaſed neither party; ſome Proteſtant princes and ſtates accepted of it, and others refuſed it; among the latter were our dukes, who convened the ſtates at Sternberg

1549. the enſuing winter, and on the twenth-firſt of June unanimouſly rejected the emperor's propoſal *.

1550. Prince George attempts to make himſelf biſhop of Schwerin by force.

THE following year died duke Magnus, biſhop of Schwerin, and ſon of duke Henry, at Butzow, on the twenty-ninth of January. The death of this prince gave a moſt ſenſible uneaſineſs to his father, and was attended with great diſturbance to the houſe of Mecklenburg: prince George, brother of duke John Albert, being ambitious of ſucceeding duke Magnus in that ſee, had made application for that purpoſe to the dean and chapter: but neither his uncle duke Henry, nor his brothers John Albert and Ulric approved of his deſign, knowing the impetuoſity and violence of his temper. He had ſerved already under the emperor againſt the Smalkaldic confederates,

* Ibid.

and

and was far better qualified for the ſword than the mitre. Being determined, however, to carry his point, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of his relations, he raiſed a body of men, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Butzow, belonging to the biſhoprick of Schwerin. His uncle duke Henry hearing of this violent procedure, gave directions for all the ſtates of the province to take up arms, in order to prevent a civil war between the brothers: prince George, unable to contend with ſo great a force, was obliged not only to deſiſt from his purpoſe, but to quit the country of Mecklenburg: his brother duke Ulric was choſen biſhop of Schwerin, and out of gratitude to duke John Albert, who had ſupported his election, he forgave him the penſion which had been ſtipulated for his annual ſupport, and likewiſe agreed to continue him in the ſole direction or management of the government ten years longer: upon which duke John Albert convened the ſtates at Sternberg, and, in conjunction with his uncle Henry, paſſed a law for ſuppreſſing the Romiſh rites, and introducing the Reformation throughout his dominions. Having ſettled theſe matters, he undertook a journey to Pruſſia, in order to aſſiſt at the marriage of Albert I. duke of that country, with Anna Maria, daughter of Eric the elder, duke of Brunſwick; upon this occaſion he was betrothed to Anna Sophia, daughter of Albert, duke of Pruſſia, by his firſt wife Dorothy, daughter of Frederic, king of Denmark; and the nuptials were celebrated five years after at Wiſmar.

Duke Ulric elected biſhop of Schwerin.

In the mean time prince George of Mecklenburg being incapable of carrying his point with regard to the biſhoprick of Schwerin, reſolved to employ his troops on ſome other expedition. Among his attendants were ſeveral gentlemen of Mecklenburg, who followed the young prince, partly from affection, and partly to learn the art of war. Henry, duke of Brunſwick had then laid ſiege to the city of that name, which had incurred his diſpleaſure for embracing the Proteſtant religion againſt his will, and for expreſſing too great partiality in a late war between him and the landgrave of Heſſe: whether it was in expectation of plunder, or through friendſhip for duke Henry, prince

Adventures of prince George.

George reſolved to aſſiſt him in the operations of the ſiege; with this view he croſſed the Elbe, and marching towards Brunſwick, joined duke Henry's army. The operations of the beſiegers were carried on with great vigour, and though the inhabitants made a gallant defence, it is probable they would have been obliged to ſurrender, had not the emperor interpoſed in their behalf, and prevailed on Duke Henry to be reconciled to that city; in conſequence of this mediation, a treaty of peace was concluded. The troops employed in that ſiege being moſtly diſbanded, prince George took three thouſand foot and two hundred horſe into his ſervice, with a deſign, as it is ſuppoſed, of making another attempt to poſſeſs himſelf of the biſhopric of Schwerin. Being unprovided with money to pay theſe troops, it was apprehended he would follow the example of many lawleſs adventurers, and endeavour to maintain them by plunder and rapine. In order to repel any violence of this kind, his brothers John Albert and Ulric, together with his uncle duke Henry, raiſed a numerous body of forces, and put the country of Mecklenburg into the beſt poſture of defence.

Siege of Magdeburg

But their fears were ſoon removed by a lucky contingency which happened at this very juncture: prince George received a deputation from the dean and chapter of Magdeburg, deſiring he would employ his forces in reducing that refractory city to reaſon. Magdeburg was one of thoſe places that had moſt zealouſly embraced the Proteſtant religion, and firmly oppoſed the emperor's *Interim*: the inhabitants having refuſed to obey the decrees of the diet, and turned the clergy out of their benefices, were put under the ban of the empire by Charles V. The execution of this decree was committed to the elector Maurice, duke of Saxony, who laid ſiege to that city. Things were in this ſituation, when the Clergy, as we have juſt mentioned, applied to prince George for his aſſiſtance, offering to let him have the prefectures of Wolmerſtede, Wantzleben, and Dreyleben, as a pledge or ſecurity for his expences: the invitation was tempting, and the prince made no difficulty to accept of it; the ſiege laſted a long time, the inhabitants defending themſelves with the utmoſt bravery.

Prince

Prince George, after he had behaved with great gallantry on ſeveral occaſions, had the misfortune of being wounded and taken priſoner in a ſally by the garriſon, and was not releaſed till the town ſurrendered by capitulation to the duke of Saxony, after a ſiege of thirteen months *.

1551. The Proteſtant princes prepare for war againſt the emperor Charles V.

THIS memorable ſiege had been artfully prolonged by duke Maurice, in order to diſguiſe his preparations againſt the emperor. The high hand with which this monarch behaved towards the ſtates of Germany, ſince the battle of Mulberg, began to alarm even thoſe Proteſtant princes who had contributed to his ſucceſſes. The late diet of Augſburg had been held in the midſt of an imperial army; the emperor had moreover ordained, that the Proteſtants ſhould ſubmit to the decrees of the council of Trent, and to his own reſcripts, with regard to the reſtitution of eccleſiaſtical livings: he had arreſted the landgrave of Heſſe, by a mean artifice, contrary to treaty; and though ſollicited by duke Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg to releaſe that prince, he refuſed to comply with their requeſts. Maurice then perceiving that the emperor's intent was to render himſelf deſpotic in Germany, and to trample upon their civil and religious liberties, reſolved to ſtand up in defence of his country: but he conducted his deſign with great ſecrecy and addreſs, and retained in his ſervice, not only the German troops which had been employed in the ſiege of Magdeburg, but alſo thoſe which had evacuated the city in conſequence of the accommodation. At the ſame time he concluded a treaty of alliance at Lockow, in the month of September, with the king of Denmark, Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, duke John Albert of Mecklenburg, the margrave of Brandenburg Anſpach, the ſons of the landgrave of Heſſe, &c. The intent of this confederacy, was, to reſtrain the emperor's exorbitant power, to procure the liberty of the captive princes, and to obtain the free exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion.

* Latom. Beehr, Buckh. Franck.

Treaty between Henry II. king of France, and the Proteſtant ſtates of Germany.

ANOTHER ſecret treaty was ſigned at Fredewald in Heſſe, on the fifth of October, between the ſame princes and Henry II. king of France, by which they engaged not to lay down their arms without the conſent of the king of France, and till the landgrave of Heſſe, and the old elector John Frederic of Saxony were ſet at liberty. As a ſecurity of their performing this engagement, duke John Albert and the eldeſt ſon of the landgrave of Heſſe, were to ſend each of them a younger brother as hoſtages to France: accordingly, the former appointed for that purpoſe, his brother Chriſtopher, who had been hitherto bred under the wings of his mother; and the latter nominated his brother Philip. On the other hand, the French king engaged to pay his new allies in three months time two hundred and forty thouſand ducats by way of ſubſidy; for which he alſo gave hoſtages, Monſ. Jamet, and Philip Comte Sauvage du Rhin *.

1552. DURING theſe preparations duke Henry, ſurnamed the Peaceable, departed this life; and duke John Albert aſſumed the ſole regency: this was a neceſſary ſtep, as duke Philip, Henry's only ſurviving ſon, was incapable of governing on account of his imbecility. In order to ſtrengthen his alliance duke John Albert had ſent a truſty nobleman, George Moltzahn, baron of Pentzlin, over to England, to treat with the miniſters of Edward VI. concerning the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion; but what ſucceſs the baron met with we do not find mentioned: it is true, that duke John Albert had hitherto embraced the emperor's party, and aſſiſted that prince in reducing the Smalkaldic allies; yet it was more owing to the influence of his father than to his own inclination; though poſſibly, not only he, but ſeveral other Proteſtant ſtates, had been of opinion before the battle of Mulberg, that the whole juſtice of the cauſe lay on the emperor's ſide; but the arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures purſued afterwards by that monarch, had opened their eyes, and obliged them now to think of their own ſafety.

* Chemn. Beehr, Kluv. Thuan. Sleidan. Chytræus, Hubner, Franck.

IN

In the preceding war the allied princes had been deficient in their politics; but now they repaired their paſt errors, and behaved with the utmoſt circumſpection: for this whole affair was tranſacted with ſuch ſecrecy, that the ſagacious Charles V. could diſcover nothing of their deſign, till it was ripe for execution. So little did he ſuſpect any hoſtile intentions, that he afforded them an opportunity to execute their purpoſes, by directing the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, as hath been already related, to lay ſiege to Magdeburg. The electors readily complied with his orders; but little did Charles ſurmiſe that this had been done with a view to ſtrengthen their armies. After they had made themſelves maſters of Magdeburg, they pretended to diſband their forces, but they privately inliſted them again, and kept them ready for action. Prince George of Mecklenburg, with his troops, took winter quarters in Thuringia, where he waited till duke Maurice ſhould have occaſion for his ſervice *.

The Proteſtant allies declare war againſt Charles V.

Every thing being now prepared on the part of the confederates, duke Maurice pulled off the maſk, by publiſhing a manifeſto, in which he aſſigned the reaſons for his conduct; theſe were, that Charles had broke his promiſe to the landgrave; that he had invaded the liberties of the Germanic body, and violated his capitulation. At the ſame time the allies took the field, and marching with the utmoſt expedition into Suabia, inveſted the city of Augſburg: here duke Maurice was joined by duke John and his brother prince George, at the head of ſix hundred horſe. Having made himſelf maſter of Augſburg in a few days, Maurice marched towards the Alps, in order to ſecure the paſſages againſt the Spaniſh and Italian troops. In his march he forced the famous caſtle of Ehrenberg, called the key of Tyrol, on the nineteenth of February, chiefly by the bravery of prince George of Mecklenburg; from thence he flew like lightning to Inſpruck, and would have certainly made himſelf maſter of the emperor's perſon, had not Charles fled with the utmoſt precipitation in the night, and retired to

Duke John Albert and his brother George join the allied army.

* Chemn. Beehr, Thuan. Sleidan. Seckend. Pfeffel, Franck.

Villach

Villach on the Drave, where he was out of danger of any inſult. While the elector purſued Charles with ſuch activity, Henry, king of France, in conſequence of the late treaty, marched to the frontiers with a powerful army, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, together with Nancy, and the whole country of Lorrain; from whence he advanced to Haguenau, in order to make a diverſion in favour of his allies.

DUKE Maurice finding that Charles had eſcaped him at Inſpruck, marched back with his army, and inveſted Frankfort, which was defended by an imperial garriſon. Prince George of Mecklenburg attended this ſiege, at which he behaved with his uſual valour: but contempt of danger proved fatal to this gallant prince, for leaning one morning on a tree within cannon ſhot of the town, while his ſervant was pulling on his boots, he received a wound by a cannon ball in the right leg, which he was obliged to have cut off; the wound proved mortal, and he reſigned his laſt breath, on the twentieth of June with great intrepidity. His body was carried to Schwerin, and buried in the cathedral, which was now appointed by his brother John Albert, the burying-place of the family, inſtead of Dobberan: a Latin oration was pronounced at his funeral, in the preſence of his mother, his brother Ulric, and his ſiſters.

Prince George of Mecklenburg killed at the ſiege of Frankfort.

THE emperor Charles finding himſelf unable to ſtem the torrent of the victorious forces under the command of duke Maurice, gave full power to his brother Ferdinand, to treat with the Proteſtants about a ſuſpenſion of arms, and even to conclude a definitive peace. Before he had quitted Inſpruck, he ſet the elector, John Frederick, at liberty. Ferdinand accordingly opened a negociation with the allied princes, which produced the famous treaty, known by the name of the Pacification of Paſſaw: this was the baſis of the religious liberties of Germany; it was concluded the ſecond day of Auguſt, and contained in ſubſtance, that the formulary of faith, called the Interim, ſhould be aboliſhed; that the emperor ſhould convene a diet, in order to ſettle all religious diſputes in an amicable

The Proteſtants obtain full liberty of conſcience by the treaty of Paſſaw.

manner, that the Proteſtants in the mean while ſhould enjoy full liberty of conſcience; and that the aſſeſſors of the imperial chamber of Spire ſhould be choſen indifferently of both religions. It was alſo ſtipulated, that if the next diet ſhould not be able to unite the minds of the people on the point of religion, the preſent tranſaction ſhould have the force of a perpetual law. Thus the 1552.
Proteſtants at length obtained free liberty of conſcience; the princes and ſtates of the empire were ſecured in their reſpective privileges; and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel was releaſed from his confinement. The emperor Charles became ſtill more tractable, by the ſucceſs of the French arms at Metz; and in 1555 he conſented to the famous peace of religion at the diet of Augſburg, by which the treaty of Paſſaw was fully confirmed. During this whole tranſaction duke John Albert behaved in a manner that does him the greateſt honour; while the reſt of Germany was involved in the flames of a religious war, he might have followed the example of his uncle duke Henry, and without any danger obſerved a neutrality; but here he diſplayed a true patriotic ſpirit, expoſing his perſon and his dominions, in order to ſecure the conſtitution of his country, and the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion *.

Duke John Albert's zeal for the Proteſtant religion.

THE treaty of Paſſaw being concluded, the Proteſtant army before Frankfort began to ſeparate; when duke John Albert, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at that ſiege, ſet out upon his return for Mecklenburg, and in his way paſſed through Mentz. Happening to meet with a curious collection of books at the hotel where he lodged in that city, he made a purchaſe of the whole, and ſent them to Mecklenburg; this was the beginning of the library of Schwerin. Immediately upon his return he appointed the baron of Pentzlen to bring home his brother Chriſtopher, who was hoſtage at Paris; and the baron conducted him ſafe to Mecklenburg. His next thought was to apply himſelf to the abolition of the Romiſh religion; on which occaſion he acted with the greateſt fervency and zeal: a relic called a drop-

* Seb. Backmeiſter, Lat. Franck, Buckholtz, Thuan. Sleidan. Chytr. Seckend.

of

of Chriſt's blood, ſaid to have been brought from the Holy Land by Henry, count of Schwerin, he ordered to be burnt: He ſuppreſſed the Franciſcan convent, and converted it into a public ſchool; he then publiſhed the eccleſiaſtical rites, or liturgy, which had been compiled by Philip Melancthon, and appointed viſitors for the diſſolution of the reſt of the monaſteries and the eſtabliſhment of proteſtant teachers throughout his dominions *.

1553. Quarrel about the regency.

In the midſt of theſe occupations a miſunderſtanding aroſe between him and his brother duke Ulric, with regard to the regency (the old bone of contention in this ſerene family) which had like to have involved the country of Mecklenburg in all the horrors of a civil war. In order to ſet this affair in a proper light, it will be neceſſary to remind the reader, that, in the year 1534, the two brothers, Henry VII. and Albert VII. came to an agreement of twenty years, in virtue of which the revenues of Mecklenburg were equally divided betwixt them, but the country remained under their joint juriſdiction. As duke Albert died in 1547, and his youngeſt children were under age, the two eldeſt ſigned a compact, under the mediation of Duke Henry, that duke John Albert ſhould adminiſter his father's ſhare for ſix years, in the name of all his brothers. Duke Ulric being elected biſhop of Schwerin in 1550, made a farther agreement with duke John Albert, that the adminiſtration ſhould continue ten years longer in this prince's hands. But duke Henry dying in 1552, and his ſon Philip being incapable of governing, duke John Albert was obliged to act as guardian to that weak prince, and to adminiſter his ſhare of the dominions of Mecklenburg: thus the regency of the whole country fell into duke John Albert's hands. Diſſatisfied with this proceeding duke Ulric inſiſted on having a ſhare in the adminiſtration of duke Philip's poſſeſſions: this engaged the

1553. two brothers in a warm conteſt, which laſted till the year 1553, when they referred the affair, at duke Ulric's particular deſire, to the arbitration of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, in conjunction with Henry, duke of Brunſwick: but juſt as

* Ibid.

the

the conteſt was going to be decided in the town of Zerbſt, duke Ulric receded from his agreement, and applied for aſſiſtance to the abovementioned duke of Brunſwick. At the ſame time he had recourſe to the emperor Charles V. who was not yet reconciled to duke John Albert, on account of the part he had acted at Inſpruck. The nobility and the ſtates alſo favoured duke Ulric, and looked upon his pretenſions as moſt conſiſtent with equity; as well as with their own intereſt, which was to continue one intire and inſeparable body. Duke Ulric gained his point; the emperor determined there ſhould be a partition of the government, and that Ulric ſhould be acknowledged as joint regent.

Duke Henry of Brunſwick owed an old grudge to Duke John Albert: being at hand with an army of ten thouſand men, he took poſſeſſion of Boitzenburg, in the name of duke Ulric, and the nobility likewiſe declared themſelves in this prince's favour. Duke John Albert would fain have led them againſt the troops of Brunſwick; but they refuſed to comply with his deſire. Their conduct on this occaſion was deemed very prudent: for had they drawn their ſwords againſt the ally of a prince, who had ſuch expectations of being one day their ſovereign, a civil war would have enſued, which might have proved fatal to the country; beſides they might eaſily have foreſeen, what really did happen, that the emperor would order the duke of Brunſwick to withdraw his troops, as he had intermeddled in the affair, without any command or authority from the aulic council. Affairs being thus circumſtanced, the nobility and the ſtates had the honour and ſatisfaction of effecting an accommodation at Boitzenburg in 1554, in conſequence of which duke John Albert conſented to ſhare the government with his brother: at the ſame time the nobility and ſtates entered into a contract to pay the debts of both the dukes, namely, thoſe which their father had contracted in the ſervice of Chriſtian II. king of Denmark. The two princes were now inclined, that the country of Mecklenburg, with the full ſovereignty thereof,

1554. The two brothers are reconciled.

ſhould be intirely divided, and the joint regency aboliſhed: this regulation actually took place the next year, under the
1555. mediation of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg: but
Agreement of Wiſmar. ſuch a partition being contrary to the views of the nobility and the ſtates, they availed themſelves, that ſame year, of the marriage of duke John Albert, with the princeſs of Pruſſia, to effectuate a new agreement at Wiſmar. The joint regency over the nobility and ſtates was finally ſettled, and the revenue of the country was to be equally divided between the two brothers: at the ſame time the nuptials were ſolemnized with great pomp in the city of Wiſmar. The de-
Duke John Albert eſpouſes the princeſs of Pruſſia. puties of the kings of Denmark and Poland aſſiſted at the ceremony, which was alſo graced with the preſence of duke Ulric.

Diet of Guſtrow. MATTERS being thus adjuſted, a provincial meeting of the ſtates was held at Guſtrow, where ſeveral regulations were made for the public utility. The dukes acquainted the members of that aſſembly with the circumſtances of their reconciliation, and reminded them of the promiſe they had made at the diet of Bortzenburg, to diſcharge the debts contracted by the late duke Albert; at the ſame time they took particular pains to convince the ſtates of the expediency of this meaſure, and of the neceſſity of redeeming the lands which had been mortgaged by their father; adding that there was no other way to maintain the dignity which their anceſtors had preſerved for ſuch a number of generations. The ſtates congratulated the two princes on their happy union, and deſired a copy of their agreement; they likewiſe ordered public thanks to be given to Albert, duke of Pruſſia, for the trouble he had taken in effecting this reconciliation. With regard to the main article of duke Albert's debts, they ſeemed to give very little ſatisfaction; but objecting againſt the ſum, they proceeded to the enumerating of grievances, which they deſired to be previouſly redreſſed. The dukes promiſed to comply with their requeſt, and the ſtates ſeparated after voting an extraordinary ſubſidy for five years, till the debt of four hundred

hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand three hundred florins, contracted by duke Albert, ſhould be intirely diſcharged *.

CHAP. II.

Charles V. reſigns the imperial crown. Schwerin burnt by lightning. Farther differences between the two brothers. Divers treaties to adjuſt thoſe differences. Diet of Augſburg. The emperor confirms the privileges of the univerſity of Roſtock. Misfortunes and impriſonment of duke Chriſtopher. Duke John Albert endeavours to procure his enlargement, and undertakes a journey to Hungary. Farther adventures of duke Chriſtopher. Troubles in Livonia. Duke Chriſtopher made priſoner, and ſent to Poland. The Proteſtants aſſemble at Naumburg. Duke John Albert's ſiſter married to the Duke of Courland. Diſturbances in Pruſſia.

1556. The emperor Charles V. reſigns.

THE year following the emperor Charles V. ſurfeited with human grandeur, and chagrined perhaps at his diſappointment before Metz, reſolved to abdicate the imperial throne in favour of his brother Ferdinand: he likewiſe diveſted himſelf of all his royalties and ſeigniories in behalf of his ſon Philip. His abdication was not accepted of by the empire, till the year 1558, when an electoral diet being held at Frankfort, Ferdinand was declared emperor on the twenty-fourth of February. Charles, after his abdication having embarked at Fluſhing, landed in Spain, where he ſhut himſelf up in the monaſtery of St. Juſt, belonging to the monks of St. Jerom. He died in 1558, in his fifty-eighth year, a few months after his brother had been declared emperor †.

* Latom. Chemn. Sebaſt. Bacmeiſt, Chytr. Buckh. Franck. See the debates of thoſe ſtates at length in Beehr, l. 5. c. iv. p. 760.

† Heiſſe, Barre, Pfeffel.

1558. Schwerin burnt by lightning.

THE ſame year in which the emperor Charles V. departed this life, the city of Schwerin was ſet on fire by lightning: the cauſe of this misfortune is gravely related by the hiſtorians of that time in the following manner. The daughter of a Lutheran preacher in Schwerin was married to John Shultz, a native of that city. The behaviour of that woman was very indiſcreet, even to give grounds of ſuſpicion of a criminal converſation between her and the marſhal of the court: the huſband complained of her conduct to his father-in-law, who treated him with great rudeneſs on the occaſion; and with oaths and imprecations aſſerted his daughter's innocence; nay, the imprudent eccleſiaſtic carried matters to ſuch a length as to defend his daughter in the pulpit. When behold! That very day this woman's houſe was ſet on fire by lightning, which ſpread itſelf to a conſiderable diſtance; forty-four houſes were deſtroyed by the devouring flames, together with the court of judicature, and the very barn in which the princely tythes were preſerved: that this was a divine judgment, is generally inculcated by thoſe hiſtorians, who do not ſcruple to aſſert that the Deity had involved ſo many innocent perſons in the puniſhment of one guilty woman *.

Farther differences between the two brothers.

BUT to return to affairs of greater moment: though the agreement of Wiſmar had in 1555 ſeemed to put an end to all diſputes between duke John Albert and his brother, ſtill there remained ſome difficulties, which could not be ſo eaſily adjuſted. The nobility and ſtates had promiſed to diſcharge the debts incurred by duke Albert, but were very dilatory in performing their promiſe: it is even mentioned by good authority †, that this very year, the deputies of the nobility ſpent moſt of the money, collected for that purpoſe, in feaſts and entertainments. Duke John Albert was thus deceived in his expectations, founded merely on that agreement; and new diſputes aroſe on every article between him and his brother: upon which they had once more recourſe to the mediation of Joachim II. elector of Brandenburg. This

* Beehr, Franck. † Latomus.

prince

prince therefore paſſed the famous decree of Ruppin in 1556; but it was the misfortune of this ſerene family, that for a long time not one negociation was productive of a perfect agreement; as often as conferences were renewed, new difficulties were ſtarted. Hence it is, that neither the decree of Ruppin in 1556, nor another agreement made at Sternberg in 1557, nor that of Juterbock and Guſtrow in 1561, nor the award of Guſtrow in 1563, were at all effectual. At length, after a diſpute of almoſt twelve years, all conteſts were finally adjuſted by treaty in 1564, at the town of New Brandenburg, where the government and conſtitution of the country of Mecklenburg were ſettled on a ſolid foundation. By the agreement of New Brandenburg, together with that of Wiſmar, and the decree of Ruppin, on which the agreement of New Brandenburg was founded, the union of the ſtates of Mecklenburg has been amply confirmed, and received its utmoſt extent; whereas before that time, it had been very much limited: and hence it is, that the ſtates were ſo vigilant, as always to take care, that not ſo much the union of 1523, but the Wiſmar treaty of 1555, ſhould be the ſtandard of their proceedings. With regard to the debts of the two dukes, they amounted to four hundred eighty-ſeven thouſand three hundred florins; theſe were not different from the ſame ſum which the ſtates, aſſembled at Sternberg in 1557, had undertaken to diſcharge; but we do not find they were ſo ready in fulfilling their engagements. Their backwardneſs in this article gave riſe to many debates every year in the provincial diets; Wiſmar and Roſtock were the ſloweſt of all in making their payments. Such behaviour was frequently the occaſion of throwing a damp upon the good will of the other ſtates, who were incapable of acting without the concurrence of thoſe two cities *.

1556.

Diverſe treaties to ſettle thoſe differences.
1557.
1561.
1563.
1564.

THE courſe of this tranſaction we have collected into one view, we reſume now the other occurrences according to the order of time.

* Latom. Beehr, Springsfield de Appanagio, Chytræus, Lindenberg, Kluver, Buck. Franck.

Soon

1559. Diet of Augſburg.

SOON after his acceſſion to the imperial throne, Ferdinand convened a diet at Augſburg; and duke John Albert repaired to that aſſembly, in order to receive from his imperial majeſty the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mecklenburg. Ferdinand endeavoured to effectuate an union between the Catholics and Proteſtants; but finding it impracticable, he confirmed the religious peace of 1555 *.

1560. The emperor confirms theprivileges of the univerſity of Roſtock.

THE enſuing year duke John Albert obtained of the emperor, a confirmation of the privileges of the univerſity of Roſtock; thoſe belonging to this ſeat of learning had been hitherto derived from the pope, whoſe authority was now no longer regarded in that country: in order therefore to remove all objections, it was thought proper to apply for the imperial ſanction: beſides, as the dukes of Mecklenburg had in ſome meaſure founded the univerſity anew, and endowed it with a handſome revenue, they were deſirous of ſeeing their own act confirmed in ſuch a manner as might be deemed an irrevocable donation. But it is very extraordinary, that a ſtep ſo generous, and ſo greatly tending to the encouragement of literature, inſtead of meeting with a grateful acknowledgement, ſhould give umbrage and uneaſineſs to the inhabitants of Roſtock: they were diſpleaſed to ſee the academy favoured with ſo many privileges, and conſidered them as prejudicial to the welfare of their city †. So ungenerous a ſuſpicion laid the foundation of thoſe quarrels, which, as will preſently appear, had like to have terminated in the total deſtruction of that opulent Hanſe Town.

Misfortunes of duke Chriſtopher. 1559.

IT was during theſe diſputes with the city of Roſtock that duke John Albert procured for his brother Chriſtopher, the coadjutorſhip of the archbiſhoprick of Riga in Livonia. In conſequence of this promotion, he prevailed on Chriſtopher to reſign his right to any ſhare or part of the ducal territories; on condition however, that he came into peaceable poſſeſſion of

* Heiſſe, Pfeffel.

† The letters patent confirming the privileges of the univerſity in 1560 were publiſhed in 1563, and may be ſeen in Beehr, l. 5. c. 4. See alſo Seb. Bacmeiſter Antiq. Roſt. and Luke Bacmeiſter Hiſt. Eccl. Roſt.

the

the archbiſhoprick. But inſtead of a peaceable poſſeſſion, the unfortunate prince met with a violent oppoſition, and a long and diſmal ſeries of calamities. After he had ſettled every thing with his elder brother at Strelitz, on the twenty-fourth of September; he ſet out from Mecklenburg with a ſmall body of horſe, which was to attend him to Livonia. His mother Anne of Brandenburg, who was exceſſively fond of him, accompanied him in his journey, and his brother Charles was alſo of the party. He arrived at Riga, on the twenty-fifth of November and met with a kind reception from the old archbiſhop William, who immediately conferred upon him the prefectures of Tweide, Lemſel, Wangel, and Salitz, to maintain him in a handſome manner, ſuitable to his dignity. But this tranſaction being diſagreeable to William of Furſtenberg, deputy of Henry of Gahlen, grand maſter of the Teutonic order, as being done without his conſent, he ſummoned a meeting of all the knights of the order in the town of Tweiden, where war was declared againſt the old biſhop William, and his new coadjutor; and Gotard Ketler was appointed commander of the troops which were to act againſt the two prelates. Sigiſmund, king of Poland hearing of theſe diſturbances, would fain have prevented a civil war, in a country which was a fief of Poland; and with that view he ſent Gaſpar Lanſkius, in his name, to reconcile the contending parties; but Gahlen the Grand maſter would liſten to no terms of accommodation. War having been thus declared, William of Furſtenberg ordered Gottard Ketler to raiſe ſome forces in Germany: duke John Albert hearing of the danger with which his brother was threatened, drew together a body of troops, in order to ſend them to Livonia.

DURING theſe preparations on the ſide of Duke Chriſtopher and his brother, William of Furſtenberg, collecting all the forces belonging to the order in Livonia, laid ſiege to the fortreſs of Kockenhuſen, to which the archbiſhop William and his coadjutor Chriſtopher had retired. The town was attacked with ſuch fury, that the two prelates were obliged to ſurrender

Duke Chriſtopher is taken priſoner.

at diſcretion, on the thirtieth of June, the ſecond day of the ſiege: Chriſtopher was ſent to Wenda, and delivered up to Gahlen the grand maſter, who gave notice to duke John Albert of his brother's captivity: John Albert was ſo affected with this unfortunate event that he undertook a journey to Poland, in order to make interceſſion with king Sigiſmund for his brother's releaſement. At the ſame time Chriſtian II. king of Denmark ſent his agents to Livonia, with a view of treating with the grand maſter upon that very ſubject. A negotiation was therefore ſet on foot, and followed by an accommodation; the conditions of which were pretty reaſonable, but, for want of the king of Poland's conſent, they proved of no manner of effect.

1560. Duke John Albert endeavours to procure his brother's releaſement:

In this ſituation of affairs, duke John Albert repaired to Vienna, in order to obtain the emperor Ferdinand's mediation in favour of his brother, with the grand maſter of the Teutonic order. Other matters of conſequence were alſo the ſubject of this expedition, and it ſeems that he was ſucceſsful in them all: the emperor, commiſerating duke Chriſtopher's hard fate, recommended him ſo ſtrongly to king Sigiſmund, that at the interceſſion of theſe two great powers, both the prelates were ſet at liberty, the decree of Wolmar * againſt them was reverſed, and they were reſtored to their dignities and honours. Duke John Albert embraced this opportunity to make an excurſion into Hungary, in order to view the fortifications erected on the frontiers of that kingdom againſt the Turks. The emperor approved of his deſign, and granted him an eſcort to attend him as far as Raab and Comorrha: the ſurvey of thoſe works gave him ſuch ſatisfaction, that he reſolved upon his return to Mecklenburg, to erect ſome forts on his own frontiers: the expediency of ſuch a meaſure, even for his own ſecurity, appeared to him in a ſtronger light, ſince he had been lately obliged to fly from Schwerin, when duke Henry of

undertakes a journey to Hungary.

* The decree of Wolmar expreſly mentioned that no foreigner ſhould be raiſed to the high dignity of archbiſhop of Riga, without the conſent of the whole order of knights of Livonia; this was from an apprehenſion that they ſhould undergo the ſame fate as had befallen the Teutonic order in Pruſſia.

Brunſwick marched a large army through his country in the way to Pomerania. The deſign of that prince's expedition was never rightly known; he committed no hoſtilities upon the road, but turned back without drawing his ſword, and his army mouldered away by deſertion. Before duke John Albert departed from Vienna, he obtained the imperial confirmation of the ſeveral privileges of the univerſity of Roſtock. Upon his return to his own dominions in the month of September, he ſent for an Italian engineer, named Francis Barno, and under his direction cauſed the fortifications of the caſtle of Schwerin, and of the town of Domitz, to be erected. At that time there were no German engineers capable of undertaking ſuch a work: but that nation hath ſince made ſuch improvements in the art of fortification, that Barno's performance would hardly now excite their admiration. The fortifications of Domitz were built out of the ruins of a Franciſcan convent at Parchim, which being ready to tumble to pieces, the duke ordered to be pulled down, and converted to this uſe: he was vaſtly pleaſed with the new works of Domitz; but this fortreſs has been rather prejudicial than uſeful to Mecklenburg, as it has often been ſeized by the enemies of the ſtate, and made uſe of to bridle and over-awe the country.

Duke John Albert's behaviour to his mother.

THE troubles in Livonia having now ſubſided, Anne of Brandenburg, widow of Albert the VIII. undertook a journey to that province, in order to ſee her ſon Chriſtopher after his late misfortunes; her ordinary reſidence was at the town of Lubtz, which had been aſſigned her by her huſband for her dower: ſhe had ſtrictly adhered to the Roman catholic religion, in which ſhe alſo died, and maintained a number of prieſts and monks for the ſervice of the pariſh-church and her own chapel. Duke John Albert being a zealous Proteſtant, was diſpleaſed at his mother's obſtinacy in rejecting the Reformation, yet he did not chuſe to oppoſe her in the town of Lubtz, leſt he ſhould give her uneaſineſs; but as ſoon as ſhe ſet out upon this journey, he ordered the Roman catholic clergy to be driven out of the town and caſtle of Lubtz, and the exerciſe of

that religion to be ſuppreſſed: a tranſaction that may perhaps deſerve our commendation, though his zeal made him exceed the bounds of due delicacy and filial reſpect.

Duke Chriſtopher meets with more misfortunes.

TOWARDS the end of the year, the Ruſſians, encouraged by the late diviſions in Livonia, invaded that province, and laid every thing waſte with fire and ſword. Duke Chriſtopher acted in conjunction with the new grand maſter, Gottard Ketler, and was ſucceſsful in ſome ſkirmiſhes againſt the Ruſſians; but new forces daily pouring in upon them, it was found impoſſible they ſhould maintain their ground without foreign aſſiſtance. Duke Chriſtopher therefore ſet out for Mecklenburg, where he raiſed four troops of horſe; with which in the very depth of winter he marched into Pomerania, and on St. Stephen's day paſſed through the town of Freyenwalde, eſcorted by eighty horſe; the other three hundred he ordered to go round by Golnow. Duke John Albert having alſo his brother's intereſt at heart, undertook a journey to Pruſſia, in order to prevail on his father-in-law duke Albert to ſend a body of troops to his aſſiſtance: he took with him prince Albert his ſon, intending to have him educated under the care of his grand-father; but that prince died ſoon after, at only five years of age.

Diſturbances in Livonia.

IN the mean time Gottard Ketler, the grand maſter, entreated Chriſtian III. king of Denmark to take Livonia under his protection; for the Ruſſians, being now returned the third time with a powerful army, laid waſte the diſtrict of Riga, and penetrated to the very gates of Revel. In this diſtracted ſituation, the biſhop of Oeſel was glad to ſell his dioceſe to Frederic II. king of Denmark, who exchanged it with his brother duke Magnus, for a part of Holſtein. The Livonians, greedy of novelty, and expecting great matters from ſo powerful a protector as the king of Denmark, revolted from the grand maſter, and choſe duke Magnus for their ſovereign; but this prince, attempting to carry things with too high a hand, ſoon loſt the affections of the people, who to the calamities occaſioned by a common enemy, would have added the horrors of a civil war, had it not been for the friendly interpoſition of

the archbiſhop William, and duke Chriſtopher his coadjutor: the latter eſpecially ſpared no pains to bring about an accommodation, and for that purpoſe, a meeting was held at Pernau. During this interval, the city of Revel and the country of Eſthonia, finding themſelves greatly diſtreſſed and harraſſed by the Ruſſians, choſe Eric, king of Sweden, for their protector, the Danes and Poles being at too great a diſtance to afford them any aſſiſtance. Eric determined to ſupport the city of Revel and the Eſthonians with a fleet and army, which he ſent to that country, under the command of Nicholas Horn; this general was received at Revel with great joy, and the inhabitants of Eſthonia acknowledged ſubmiſſion and allegiance to the crown of Sweden.

THE grand maſter of the knights of Livonia finding himſelf deſerted on all ſides, reſolved to treat with the king of Poland, who with great jealouſy beheld theſe ſucceſſes of the Ruſſians, Danes, and Swedes. On this occaſion it was agreed, that Gottard Ketler ſhould reſign Livonia to the king of Poland, in conſideration of his receiving the duchy of Courland for himſelf and his heirs, as a fief of that crown. Thus Livonia was annexed to Poland, which thereby acquired the acceſſion of a wealthy province. Upon the concluſion of this treaty, king Sigiſmund bent his march towards Livonia at the head of a hundred thouſand men; when the whole country ſubmitted to his arms, though not without ſome reſiſtance from the Swedes and Ruſſians, who were obliged at length to yield to the ſuperior good fortune of the Poles. The wars on this occaſion between thoſe powers, are foreign from our preſent ſubject; ſuffice it to obſerve with regard to duke Chriſtopher, that unhappily on this occaſion he ſided with the Swedes, who were ſtill maſters of Revel and Eſthonia, and had promiſed to ſupport him in his archbiſhopric. This 1562.
prince had made another tour to Germany during theſe diſturbances, and finding no hopes of ſuccours from that quarter, embarked for Stockholm, where he concluded a treaty with king Eric, and put himſelf under the protection of that monarch.

AFTER he had ſettled theſe matters to his ſatisfaction, he ſet ſail for Revel towards the latter end of the year, and arrived ſafely in that city, where he celebrated Chriſtmas-day, but found archbiſhop William ready to breathe his laſt; thinking it therefore adviſable to loſe no time, he put himſelf at the head of a body of Swediſh troops, and took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Treyden, with ſome other places. Sigiſmund, king of Poland, hearing of theſe proceedings, ſent an officer to duke Chriſtopher, with an invitation to him to ſubmit, and ſwear allegiance, threatening him in caſe of refuſal, with his royal indignation. Chriſtopher no way intimidated, made anſwer, "That it was inconſiſtent with his dignity as a "prince of the Roman empire, to ſwear allegiance to any "other ſovereign than the head of that body, and that he had "already taken an oath of allegiance to the emperor Ferdinand," King Sigiſmund, irritated with this anſwer, ſent orders to Gottard Kettler, now duke of Courland, to march againſt Chriſtopher with a ſtrong body of troops, before he could be joined by foreign ſuccours. At the news of Kettler's approach Chriſtopher reſolved to hinder if poſſible, the Poliſh army from croſſing the Dwina; and with this view poſted himſelf at the caſtle of Dalen, which was ſituated upon that river: Kettler having had notice of this ſtep, marched with the utmoſt expedition towards the caſtle, which he inveſted on the thirtieth of July, and in three days obliged it to ſurrender: duke Chriſtopher and the whole garriſon were made priſoners of war: the duke was conducted to Riga, and there confined in the caſtle. Kettler acquainted the king of Poland with his ſucceſs, and deſired to know that prince's will, with regard to the fate of this illuſtrious priſoner. The king being highly incenſed at duke Chriſtopher's conduct, gave orders for him to be removed to the caſtle of Pauſchendorff, and from thence to Vilna the metropolis of Lithuania: he was afterwards carried to Warſaw, and thence to the monaſtery of Solefe, where he was detained a cloſe priſoner. During his confinement he was treated with great indignity, and underwent ſuch ſevere and unmerited

Duke Chriſtopher made a priſoner, and ſent to Poland.

unmerited hardſhips, as are ſeldom known to be inflicted, even by the moſt barbarous nations, on priſoners of his high rank: inſulted by his unrelenting enemies, he was thrown into different dungeons, where he had ſcarce room ſufficient for a ſtraw-bed. After he had been thus dragged about for ſix months, he was conveyed from the monaſtery of Solefe to Rava, where he continued in durance ſix years, deſtitute of all comfort, ſo as to be deprived even of the attendance of his own people, and obliged to have Poliſh ſervants, though he was an utter ſtranger to their language. Duke John Albert hearing of his brother's ſecond captivity, paid another viſit to Albert, duke of Pruſſia, and from Koningſberg ſent two deputies to Warſaw, to intercede with the king for his releaſe: good offices proving ineffectual, he fitted out two large ſhips in the port of Memel in Pruſſia, and put ſome troops on board, with orders, to land in Livonia, where they were to join his brother's adherents, of whom there were ſtill ſome remaining in that country. But here alſo was he diſappointed, for the ſhips were caſt away, and the ſoldiers periſhed *.

1561. Aſſembly of the Proteſtants at Naumburg.

During theſe troubles in Livonia, the Proteſtants of Germany held a general aſſembly at Naumburg, at which duke Ulric of Mecklenburg aſſiſted: that prince had taken with him duke Charles, his younger brother, in order to introduce him to the acquaintance of the other princes of the empire; he likewiſe had in his retinue, David Chytræus, the learned profeſſor of Roſtock, whoſe opinion might be of ſome weight in the conſultations of that aſſembly. Theſe were chiefly on the ſubject of religion, and it was determined, after long debates, that they ſhould not ſend any of their divines to the council of Trent; here they likewiſe amended the alterations which ſeveral of their doctors had made in the Confeſſion of Augſburg, in order to draw nearer to the principles of Calviniſm. Duke Ulric and his brother Charles embraced this opportunity to aſſiſt at the nuptials which were celebrated between William,

* Latom. Chemn. Beehr, Buckh. Franck.

prince

prince of Orange, and Anne, the daughter of Maurice, late elector of Saxony. Duke John Albert went to meet his brothers at their return. Upon this occaſion they held an aſſembly at Juterbock, at which Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, and Joachim II. elector of Brandenburg were preſent, and all differences in the ducal family were happily adjuſted.

Not long after this tranſaction, a treaty of marriage was ſet on foot between duke John Albert's ſiſter, the princeſs Anne, then thirty-two years of age, and Gottard Kettler, duke of Courland. It was ſomething very extraordinary, that this propoſal ſhould come from the perſon, who had taken duke Chriſtopher priſoner, and be backed by the very ſovereign, king Sigiſmund, by whom that unfortunate prince was treated with ſuch ſeverity. A council was held on this occaſion, but the duke reſenting the treatment ſhewn to his brother, would not come to any reſolution; and the affair was poſtponed for ſome time: at length it was thought adviſable to agree to the match, as it might be a means of pleaſing the king of Poland, and conſequently of obtaining duke Chriſtopher's enlargement. The contract being ſigned, 1566. the princeſs ſet out for Koningſberg in the month of January 1566, accompanied by duke John Albert's conſort, with her young ſon John, and duke Francis of Saxe Lawenburg. Duke John Albert himſelf did not attend her at that time, being employed in quieting the diſturbances at Roſtock: but the duke of Courland expreſſing his deſire that his brother-in-law ſhould be preſent at the nuptials, this prince thought proper to comply with his requeſt, in hopes of being ſerviceable to his captive brother. He therefore ſet out poſt from Schwerin, and came in time to be preſent at the nuptials, which were celebrated the ſixteenth of March at Koningſberg; from thence he attended his ſiſter to Memel, where he took his leave of her in the moſt affectionate manner *. From Memel duke John Albert returned to Koningſberg, to which city he paid frequent viſits, on account of his marriage with Anna Sophia, daughter of Albert,

Diſturbances in Pruſſia.

* On this occaſion he wrote the following propempticon or valedictory verſes on the wall of his apartment.

Johannes

Albert, duke of Pruſſia. He found the court of Pruſſia greatly agitated by the religious diſputes of the Oſiandriſts; in which duke John Albert acted ſo prudent a part, as to contribute very much towards preventing his father-in-law from being ruined by thoſe diſturbances. The famous Andrew Oſiander, who was by birth a Bavarian, having preached the Reformation early at Nurenburg, was afterwards invited to Koningſberg by duke Albert; where he broached ſome new doctrines concerning the article of juſtification. He was a man of ſtrong paſſions, violent, reſtleſs, and impatient of all oppoſition; at his death, he left a great many who adhered to his opinions, which occaſioned warm diſputes and animoſities in Pruſſia. The duke being then advanced in years, was beſet by evil counſellors; the perſon who had inſinuated himſelf moſt into his favour, was an Italian impoſtor, named Scalichius, who pretended to be deſcended from the Scalas of Verona; one of this man's chief favourites was John Funck, a zealous Oſiandriſt, who, under the ſanction of Scalichius's authority, tyranniſed over ſuch as were not of his opinion. Scalichius had all the Oſiandriſts on his ſide, and they began to have an influence even in matters of government; the nobility of the country diſpleaſed at this behaviour, and finding they could get no acceſs to the duke, had recourſe to the king of Poland, who appointed a commiſſion to examine into the eccleſiaſtical diſputes, as well as thoſe which diſturbed the ſtate. Scalichius had the good fortune to make his eſcape to the court of France, under the diſguiſe of a Pruſſian envoy; but his tools, Matthias Horſt, John Schnell, and John Funck were beheaded at Koningſberg on the twenty-eighth of October, 1566, and this execution put an end to the diſturbances.

Johannes Albertus, dux Megapolitanus Annæ ſorori ſponſæ diſcedenti in Curlandiam.

Exoritur triſtis te diſcedente querela,
Et lacerat mentem ſollicitudo, ſoror!
Sed valeat mæror, valeant ſuſpira mæſta,
Et lacrymæ valeant, improba cura vale!
Omine te Deus læto deducat et addat,
Sis fælix rebus, connubioque, vale!
XXVI Martii, anno MDLXVI.

THE old duke Albert had by the advice of the above Scalichius, made ſeveral alterations in his will, concerning the Pruſſian ſucceſſion, and the guardianſhip of his ſon, an infant; theſe alterations gave great offence to the king of Poland, as well as to the electoral family. Duplicates of the will were depoſited with his ſon-in-law duke John Albert, on which account the latter again became obnoxious to the Poliſh monarch; however, upon the ſettling of the diſturbances, the new will of duke Albert was declared void, and his ſon-in-law, the duke of Mecklenburg was obliged to deliver it up to king Sigiſmund: it is ſaid, that John Albert endeavoured to perſuade the old duke, to call the children of his daughter Anna Sophia, ducheſs of Mecklenburg, to the ſucceſſion of Pruſſia, in preference to the other margraves, ſhould his ſon Albert Frederic happen to die without iſſue. This charge is not well ſupported; however, it occaſioned great uneaſineſs, and the houſe of Brandenburg became ſo ſuſpicious of duke John Albert, that after his death they refuſed to grant his widow her juſt and undoubted rights *. It ſeems notwithſtanding, that on this occaſion Albert, duke of Pruſſia, ſettled the prefectures and caſtles of Marienwerder and Gardenſee in Pruſſia, on his grandſons John and Sigiſmund Auguſtus; at the ſame time he is ſaid to have given them a bond or obligation of a hundred thouſand crowns, as a portion due to princeſs Anna Sophia their mother, to the end that theſe his grand-children might not be left intirely without ſome part of their grand-father's inheritance. But the king of Poland would not confirm the donation, and duke John Albert, who had the government of the above-mentioned places, was obliged to ſurrender them: the duke made but a ſhort ſtay at Koningſberg, and returned the eighth of June to Schwerin †.

* See Lilienthal's *Acta Boruſſica*. Bacmeiſter, [illegible]. By other accounts we find that the diploma of infeofment for th[illegible]s, and the bond or obligation, were confirmed by that prince's ſon, Al[illegible]ke of Pruſſia, and margrave of Brandenburg.

† Chemn. Latom. Kluver, Beehr, Bac[illegible] Hubner. Buckh. Franck.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Diet of Augſburg. Duke Ulric makes the tour of Italy. The Proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed at Ratzburg. Duke John Albert gives great encouragement to learning. Account of the Literati in Mecklenburg.

ABOUT this very time was held an imperial diet at Augſburg, at which duke Ulric aſſiſted: this aſſembly corrected the abuſes of the imperial chamber, and granted a ſubſidy againſt the Turks, to the emperor Maximilian II. who had ſucceeded his father but two years before: it was alſo decreed, that none but the Catholic and Lutheran religions ſhould be tolerated in Germany. The elector Palatine, who had lately embraced the opinions of Calvin, proteſted againſt this ordinance; and that perſuaſion was not eſtabliſhed in Germany by public authority, till the year 1648, by the treaty of Munſter. The diet broke up the thirtieth of May, and duke Ulric ſet out from thence for Italy, where he viſited the chief cities in Lombardy. At Padua he had ſeveral conferences with the literati of that univerſity, who were ſurpriſed at his extenſive erudition: from thence he proceeded to Venice *, where he viewed the principal curio-

1566. Duke Ulric makes the tour of Italy.

* Chytræus deſcribing his journey to Venice, give the following account of his having met with duke Ulric in that city.

Nil tamen in tanta viſum mihi carius urbe,
Quam patriæ decus, & ſpecimen virtutis avitæ,
Magnus Udalricus, clypeo cui fulget aperto
Bucephali facies, quam Mænalis urſa veretur,
Dux Henetus, Venetam cæptis felicibus urbem,
Italiæ plagas illo qui tempore luſtrans,
In ſe oculos animoſque hominum converterat omnes,
Auguſta virtute gravis, vultuſque nitore.

curioſities of that wonderful metropolis. Having finiſhed his tour of Italy, he returned to Mecklenburg on the fourteenth of September, and immediately went to examine the fortifications then erecting at Roſtock, an undertaking of which we ſhall give a farther account in due place.

1566. The Proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed in Ratzburg.

ALL this while duke Chriſtopher was languiſhing in priſon torn from his relations and friends, and deſtitute of all human conſolation: yet ſo far were his ſpirits from being depreſſed, that he exerted himſelf, even in that calamitous ſituation, in promoting the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion. The Romiſh worſhip having hitherto obtained at the town of Ratzburg, of which he was biſhop, he gave orders from his priſon in Lithuania, though he

And in his firſt book of epigrams, we read the following lines on duke Ulric's viſiting the phyſic garden at Padua.

De Udalrico duce Megapolitano in horto Patavino herbarum inſpectione ſe oblectante.

Euganeo nuper cum dux Ulricus in horto
Plantarum inſpiceret germina, Phæbus ait:
Cur tu quæſo ſacris princeps cariſſime Muſis,
Hac regione mihi conſpiciendus ades?
Tunc ille Henricus, proavis qui regibus ortus,
Mœnalia procul hinc me regione colis?
Dignaque doctiloquis largiris præmia Muſis,
Et claris Muſas qui coluere viris?
Salve gentis honos patriæ, dux inclyte, ſalve,
Tu quoque tu noſtro munere clarus eris.
Cumque adeo celebri plantas ſcruteris in horto,
Ut placeant oculis munera noſtra tuis,
Fallor an heroes heros imitatus avitos,
Hâc quoque laude illis te cupis eſſe parem?
Huic olim præſtans animi invigilabat Achilles,
Deditus huic Hieron Lyſimachuſque fuit.
Poſteritas hinc grata illos poſt funera laudat,
Nomen & illorum germina certa ferunt,
Fortunate heros, tu nunc eris alter ab illis,
Quos genere æquiparas, exſuperaſque fide.
Perge modo, doctaſque libens defende ſorores,
Varnus ubi roſeas en tibi fundit aquas.
Nomine ſic meritoque ſuo ſine fine manente,
Floridius quovis germine germen eris.

Patavii vi. kal. Aug. anno 1566.

was

was then in the power of a Romiſh monarch, to ſuppreſs that religion throughout his dioceſe, and to eſtabliſh in its ſtead the Confeſſion of Augſburg. This was accordingly executed with little or no difficulty, the generality of the people in thoſe quarters ſhewing an extraordinary readineſs to embrace the Reformation *.

1568. Duke John Albert encourages learning.

THE affairs of religion being now ſettled in the duchy of Mecklenburg, John Albert directed his attention to the improvement of learning: as ſoon as he had fixed his reſidence in Schwerin, in conſequence of the agreement with his brother in 1555, he undertook to execute two ſchemes, which he had had ſome time in view, that of founding a princely library and having a ſchool at Schwerin. For this purpoſe he invited the learned Matthias Marcus Dabercuſius from the electoral academy of Meiſſen in Saxony, to preſide over the new gymnaſium which he ordered to be held in the Franciſcan convent, after the expulſion of the friars. At the opening of this ſchool two Latin orations were pronounced, one by Andreas Mylius, and the other by Juſtus Jonas; four maſters were appointed for the inſtruction of youth, the above Dabercuſius, Hieronimus Rivius, Nicolaus Sartorius, and Nicolaus Mylius. The duke took care to provide the maſters with good ſalaries, and delighted in aſſiſting in perſon at the examination of the boys, where he frequently diſplayed his princely munificence, with praiſes and rewards encouraging them to purſue their grammatical ſtudies, in order to qualify themſelves for the higher attainments of ſcience at the univerſity of Roſtock.

THIS illuſtrious ſeat of learning had again ſuſtained great damage by a peſtilential diſtemper, which broke out in that city in 1566; ſo dreadful a calamity frightened away moſt of the profeſſors from the univerſity; part of them died, and others never returned. Health and tranquillity being reſtored, the duke took care to ſupply the places of the former profeſſors, with men of worth and eminence in their reſpective branches

* Chemn. Latom. Beehr, Buckh. Franck.

of learning. The duke himſelf was poſſeſſed of ſuch extenſive erudition, that he was commonly diſtinguiſhed from other princes by the epithet of *Doctus*. David Chytræus in the Preface to his Latin Commentary on the firſt Book of Moſes, extols the merits of this prince, in giving all poſſible encouragement to literature; his words are as follow: "But my reaſons for "dedicating this Comment on Geneſis to your highneſs are "theſe; firſt, that I may publicly give thanks to the Supreme "Being, for having directed the heart of ſome princes of excel-"lent parts and endowments to the promotion and advance-"ment of the church, and to pious and religious ſtudies: "I humble implore the Divine Majeſty long to preſerve your "highneſs, that during your reign you may perform many great "actions acceptable to the Deity, and beneficial to the church "and all your ſubjects. The church will tranſmit to the lateſt "poſterity your highneſs's particular care in advancing the ho-"nour of religion, by founding temples and ſchools, by encou-"raging the ſtudy of the arts and ſciences, and particularly, by "reſtoring the eclipſed luſtre of this univerſity of Roſtock, when "you increaſed the ſalaries of the profeſſors with an additional "income of three thouſand five hundred dollars. This muni-"ficence to the learned, poſterity will ever commemorate with "grateful minds, and not fail to rank your highneſs among "thoſe great heroes, the Theodoſiuſes, the Charlemagnes, the "Fredericks, and the Ptolemies, who by their liberality and pru-"dence, encouraged the ſtudy of heavenly wiſdom, as well as "that of all the liberal arts".

The duke had made his ſtudies at Frankfort on the Oder, where he was elected rector magnificus in 1542; he had been an early admirer of the Muſes, as appears by ſome elegant verſes of his ſtill extant; he was alſo a lover of the mathematics and of aſtronomy, taking particular pleaſure to ſpend the night in making obſervations, in conjunction with the celebrated mathematician Tilmanus: he alſo held oratory in high eſteem, and indeed all the arts and ſciences, particularly divinity. Matthias Bohemus, chaplain in ordinary to duke John Albert, takes notice

no tice in his funeral oration on this prince, of his unwearied application to theological ſtudies, and his particular care in promoting true religion: his words are theſe; "This prince "took great delight in peruſing the ſacred ſcriptures, as well as "the writings of that man of God, doctor Luther; theſe he "ſtudied night and day, and on many parts of the Bible he "wrote excellent comments. I have ſeen with ſurprize a "princely treaſure, namely, a book of ſome hundred pages, in "the duke's own hand writing, containing the following pieces; "the Pſalms in Latin, Luther's Catechiſm in Latin and German, the Goſpel and the three canonical Epiſtles of St. John, "the Epiſtle to the Galatians, Solomon's Proverbs, and the "Book of Eccleſiaſticus, devout prayers in proſe and verſe, "excellent diſcourſes on the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, "and its benefit to mankind, a collection of maxims from the ſacred ſcriptures, diſcourſes on ſeveral articles of the Chriſtian "religion, a meditation on death, with many other tracts of "his own compoſing."

FROM a prince of ſuch profound erudition the higheſt expectations had been formed by the literati, who indeed were not diſappointed: many of them dedicated their works to him as the chief patron of the Muſes; among others, the celebrated Melancthon, for whom he had once a particular regard, but the diſpute between that learned man and the Centuriators of Magdeburg, had ſomewhat prejudiced his highneſs againſt him; Melancthon was greatly concerned at this change in duke Albert's affection, and wrote him a very ſubmiſſive letter in 1558, but we do not find what effect it produced.

IN providing the univerſity of Roſtock, the duke was particularly deſirous of prevailing on the celebrated Adrianus Junius to accept of the profeſſorſhip of medicine; for which purpoſe he wrote an elegant epiſtle to him at Harlem, which we ſhall here inſert in a note, as a ſpecimen of the duke's polite learning *.

* Johannes Albertus, Dei gratia dux Megapolenſis, princeps Vandalorum, &c. Hadriano Junio Hornano Med. Doctori.

Quam præclare illi ſapienterque fecerint, qui in promovendis rebus omnibus ad Dei gloriam, communeque humani generis emolumentum pertinentibus, neque ullis laboribus,

Adrianus Junius being then ſettled at Harlem, where he practiſed and gave lectures in medicine, declined accepting the duke's offer, but wrote him a moſt elegant epiſtle, expreſſing his grateful ſentiments for the honour intended him. The duke ſent a copy of the letter to David Chytræus, who from thence took an opportunity to recommend Henry Brucæus of Aloſt, as appears by the following letter from Chytræus to his highneſs.

" I peruſed Adrianus Junius's epiſtle with the greateſt ſatis-
" faction, and read it over again with my collegues, as it con-
" tains a juſt and elegant elogium of your heroic munificence,
" wiſdom, and goodneſs; neither do I in the leaſt queſtion but
" your highneſs is of opinion, that ſuch judgments of wiſe and
" good men in praiſe of virtue, are preferable to the moſt
" ſplendid triumphs. Laſt year, when I attended prince Ulric,

laboribus, neque ſumptibus pepercere, id non modo per ſe manifeſtum eſt verum etiam a quovis magnopere prædicatur. Qua quidem in re cum majores etiam noſtri in erigenda & conſtituenda academia Roſtocienſi non exiguam ſibi laudem ac nullis ſæculis interituram memoriam comparaverint; non minus curæ ac cogitationis ea de re nobis quoque ſuſcipiendum eſſe arbitramur. Itaque cum academia noſtra Roſtocienſis anno ſuperiore, perniciociſſima lue hanc noſtram provinciam infeſtante, non paucis & virtute & doctrina præſtantibus viris, cum ingenti deplorandaque ſtudioſæ juventutis jactura orbata ſit, omnem operam navavimus ut honeſtis ſtipendiis conductos excellentes viros, qui juventutem optimis artibus informarent, in demortuorum loca ſurrogaremus. Quare cum de tuo præſtanti ingenio, & qua in arte medica excellis peritia, nonnulla ex quibuſdam, qui te nobis diligentiſſime commendarunt, cognoverimus, ab eiſdemque nobis oſtenſum ſit, haud ægre te perſuaſum iri, ut te iſtinc in academiam noſtram, ubi medicam facultatem publice profiterere, honeſto accerſitus ſtipendio conferas: gratum nobis feceris, ſi non modo hac in re, quæ tibi magno honori, ſcholæ noſtræ eximio ornamento futura, communi autem ſtudioſorum cætui non leve emolumentum allatura eſt, nobis gratificatus fueris; ſed et, quæ hæc ſententia ſit, vel Bartholomæo Gryphio noſtro, cui mandavimus ut noſtro nomine de his rebus quam diligentiſſime tecum agat expoſueris, vel quod primum ad nos perſcripſeris. Quin potius, ſi apud nos commorari volueris, domoque abeſſe poteris, rectius feceris, ſi noſtris ſumptibus primo quoque tempore ad nos veneris, ubi de toto hoc negotio accuratius tecum ſumus acturi, daturique operam, ut ſi quid ad dignitatem tuam augendam ornamenti a nobis addi poterit, in eo nobis nihil prætermiſſum eſſe videatur. Vale. Datæ Guſtrovii III Non. Febr. anno ſalut. MDLXVII. manu propria *.

* Franck.

" your

" your moſt illuſtrious brother, to Donawerth, I was
" aſked by the paſtor, an old gentleman of great learning and
" authority in that town, Whether that was the prince of
" Mecklenburg who had extended his munificence and libera-
" lity to the univerſity of Roſtock, as Chytræus mentions in his
" Explication on Geneſis? After this, he began to expatiate in
" commendation of your highneſs's wiſdom, learning, and mu-
" nificence, in promoting the cauſe of religion and letters:
" from this ſource kings and princes derive more true and ſolid
" glory, with far leſs danger and expence, than from the moſt
" brilliant triumphs, the conſequence of deſtructive wars, ſuch
" as are waged in our time. But as I am fully convinced
" of your wiſdom and religion, I am confident you will be
" ever inclined to favour and protect the church as well as
" the univerſity of Roſtock. We have for ſome time made a
" diligent inquiry after a perſon capable of teaching the mathe-
" matics and phyſic in this academy; at length Providence has fa-
" voured our wiſhes, by throwing in our way doctor Henry Brucæus
" of Aloſt, an eminent phyſician, well ſkilled in the mathematics,
" eſpecially in geometry and aſtronomy, a man of virtuous life,
" of great humanity, in ſhort, a man like our late Bordingius;
" with the utmoſt humility and reſpect, we beg your highneſs
" will appoint him our collegue, with a ſalary of two hundred
" dollars, the ſame as to Bordingius. Your highneſs has lately
" taken into pay a young phyſician, Levinus Battus, who has
" hitherto taught arithmetic and the uſe of the globes; but
" Henry Brucæus is a perſon of ſuperior underſtanding and
" knowledge, and I doubt not but his learning and other
" great endowments will do honour to your choice, and
" be an ornament and ſupport to the univerſity. As he is
" come here by our advice and at our requeſt, I beg you
" will condeſcend to give him an audience, and tranſact the
" affair with him perſonally. I pray God to preſerve your
" highneſs ſafe, and in proſperity, and to direct the preſent
" negociations with the city of Roſtock, to the glory of the
" Divine

" Divine majeſty, the dignity and honour of your highneſs, and " and the welfare of your ſubjects. Farewell. 1565.

Account of the literati in Mecklenburg.

THIS petition of Chytræus was well received; the duke granted the profeſſorſhip to Brucæus, who enjoyed it till the thirty-firſt of December, 1593, when he died at Roſtock, at the age of ſixty-two: he was a native of Aloſt in Flanders, and famous for his connections with Adrianus Turnebus and Ramus. He had lived a good while at Paris, and given ſeveral lectures at Rome, with ſignal reputation. There are ſome pieces of his extant, as De motu primo, Inſtitutiones ſphæræ, &c. which are eſteemed by the learned.

CHYTRÆUS in the above letter makes mention of Bordingius, of whom, as a profeſſor of Roſtock, and remarkable for his unſettled ſtate of life, it is proper we take ſome notice. This learned man was born at Antwerp, in 1511, and, beſides the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin tongues, had applied himſelf to divinity and phyſic; he ſtudied ſome time at Louvain, and afterwards went to Paris, where he taught Greek and Hebrew: from thence he repaired to Montpellier, in order to improve in his medical ſtudies, by conſulting with the learned of the faculty at that univerſity. Cardinal Sadolet having prevailed on him to remove to Carpentras in the county of Venaiſin, he there gave lectures ſeveral years, and married Frances Negroni, daughter of Termo Negroni of Genoa. But this proving too obſcure a ſtage for a perſon of his ſuperior merit, he quitted it, and went to Bologna, thence to Antwerp, and in 1544 he took up his reſidence at Hamburg, where he had a penſion granted him by the ſenate: five years after he accepted of an invitation to Roſtock, and was there profeſſor during the ſpace of ſeven years, but in 1556, he quitted that city to go and live at Copenhagen, where he ſettled at length in the grave, in the year 1560.

UNDER the auſpices of ſo learned a patron as duke John Albert, a general emulation reigned among the literati at Roſtock, in promoting and improving the liberal arts and ſciences, and particularly, the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures, as appears from an oration of Fechtius, wherein he enumerates the moſt emi-

nent

nent Proteſtant divines who figured in that univerſity, from the Reformation down to his time. But ſince it is neceſſary for the right underſtanding of the ſcriptures, to be acquainted with the learned languages, the ſtudy of theſe was alſo purſued with the greateſt ardour, together with that of the liberal arts, which have a mutual connexion, and in ſome meaſure illuſtrate each other; this appears from the *Scripta publica Academiæ Roſtochienſis*, from 1560 to 1567. During that period the Greek and Latin claſſics were publicly read and explained; particularly the hiſtorians, Herodotus, Thucydides, Cæſar, &c. the poets, Euripides, Sophocles, Heſiod, Homer, and others, as alſo Terence, Horace, Ovid, and Virgil. Theſe authors were commented upon by Poſſelius, Burenius, Bocerus, and eſpecially, by the celebrated David Chytræus: lectures were regularly given on logic and poetry, on the Hebrew and Greek grammar, as likewiſe on natural philoſophy, ethics, phyſic, juriſprudence, aſtronomy, geometry, and the ſublimer mathematics; ſo that no inſtruction was wanting for the complete education of young gentlemen. Thus the univerſity of Roſtock was become once more *bonarum artium mercatura*, or the mart of letters, to which ſtudents flocked from all parts of Germany.

Among the learned profeſſors, who under duke John Albert and his brother Ulric adorned this ſeat of the Muſes, the following are the moſt conſpicuous.

I. Arnoldus Burenius, preceptor to duke Magnus, and by Caſelius ſtyled *Reſtaurator Literarum & Academiæ Roſtochienſis*. But of this very learned man we have ſpoken ſufficiently in the preceding chapter; he died in 1566.

II. David Chytræus, a Lutheran miniſter, was the moſt eminent divine that adorned this univerſity in the ſixteenth century; he was born at Ingelfing, in Franconia, on the twenty-ſixth of February, 1530. He ſtudied the belles lettres and divinity under Melancthon; and after travelling through Italy and the Netherlands, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Proteſtants of Germany by his genius and his learning. In the year 1550 he ſet out from Wittenberg, to viſit the duchy of Mecklenburg,

lenburg and univerſity of Roſtock, in company with Johannes Aurifaber, at the particular deſire of Melancthon, who recommended him and his companion to duke Henry the Peaceable, as perſons well verſed in theology, profeſſors of which were wanting at Roſtock. There he contracted an intimacy with the famous profeſſor Bordingius, who was ſo ſtruck with his profound learning, and amiable accompliſhments, as to recommend him to the duke for the profeſſorſhip of divinity, philoſophy, and the languages. Accordingly he was nominated to that employ by the duke, which he accepted of the year following: the reputation of his learning was ſo great, that ſtudents immediately flocked from all parts, and even princes, counts, barons, and other young noblemen, crowded to hear his lectures; theſe were ſometimes on the holy ſcriptures, ſometimes on the Greek and Latin poets and hiſtorians, and ſometimes on the liberal arts; his extenſive erudition raiſed the admiration of his hearers, who conſidered him as a worthy pupil of the great Melancthon. Duke John Albert went in perſon to hear his *Lectio Catechetica* in 1552, and did him at other times the honour to converſe whole hours with him in his muſeum: he likewiſe paid a viſit to Roſtock in 1574, with the princes his ſons, to hear him pronounce his famous oration on the virtues and duty of a ſovereign; but of this more hereafter. Chytræus's piety was equal to his learning; he had the public good at heart, and was an enemy to diſcord. He was ſubject to ſeveral infirmities, but made uſe of no medicines; his only remedy under his diſorders, was patience, abſtinence, and repoſe. Lipſius aſſures us, that Chytræus was one of the greateſt men in Germany; he died on the twenty-fifth of June in 1600, aged ſeventy: his works in divinity, hiſtory, and polite litterature are very numerous; his letters were publiſhed at Hanau by his ſon in 1614, and from theſe we find, that he correſponded with, and was held in high eſteem by perſons of the firſt dignity and learning in Europe. David Chytræus had a brother named Nathan Chytræus, who was rector of the college of Bremen, and an excellent poet: he travelled through England, France,

France, and Italy, and after he had publiſhed ſeveral works, among the reſt, the *Deliciæ variorum Itinerum*, and a collection of poems in ſeventeen books, he died in 1598, aged fifty-five.

III. JOHANNES CASELIUS was born at Gottingen on the eighteenth of May, 1533, of a very good family; he ſtudied at Leipſick under Melancthon and Camerarius; and applied himſelf to the belles lettres, in which he became moſt conſpicuous. He was invited to Roſtock in 1563, and choſen profeſſor of philoſophy and eloquence. This learned man undertook a journey to Italy, where he was made doctor of laws in the univerſity of Piſa; he had ſuperintended the education of the prince of Mecklenburg, and at length removed to Helmſtadt, where he profeſſed philoſophy and eloquence, and died in 1613, in his eightieth year: he had held a correſpondence with moſt of the great men and the literati of his time, ſuch as Sigonius, Manutius, Muretus, Caſaubon, and Victorius. We have ſeveral of his performances in proſe and verſe, as well in Greek as in Latin, among the reſt ſome elegant orations, and a collection of valuable letters, publiſhed at Frankfort in 1687. He had a warm diſpute with Daniel Hoffman and ſome other literati, who maintained that philoſophy was contrary to divinity; and that there are many things true in the latter, which are far from being ſo in the former. Morhoffius ſays, that Caſelius was the great luminary of the North, being equally ſkilled in Greek and Latin literature, a great orator and philoſopher, in ſhort, one that by his example, counſel, and precepts, was the general inſtructor of Germany.

IV. JOHANNES POSSELIUS, a native of Roſtock, was many years profeſſor of the Greek language, and died in 1591: he wrote ſeveral pieces, chiefly on Greek literature, among others the Syntaxis Græca, and the Calligraphia, the laſt of which is held in high eſteem.

V. JOHANNES BOCERUS was an excellent poet and hiſtorian, who flouriſhed at this time in Roſtock; he wrote the hiſtories of Denmark and Mecklenburg in verſe, a work greatly eſteemed in Germany. G. Sabinus compares him to Ovid; his poems

are to be ſeen in the firſt volume of the *Deliciæ Poetarum Germanorum.*

VI. Luke Bacmeister, a Lutheran miniſter, was born at Lunenburg in 1530, and performed his ſtudies at the univerſity of Wittenberg; he was afterwards preceptor to the prince of Denmark, and at length was appointed profeſſor of divinity at Roſtock, where he died in 1608, aged ſeventy-eight; he wrote ſeveral treatiſes of divinity which were well received by the public. This learned man left a ſon, alſo named Luke Bacmeiſter, who was born at Roſtock in 1570; he ſtudied under Chytræus, and made a tour to Straſburg in 1587. Upon his return to his own country, he applied himſelf firſt to the ſtudy of the law, and afterwards to that of divinity; being made maſter of arts, he removed to Wittenberg in 1593, but returned to Mecklenburg in 1597. The year following he undertook a journey to Flanders and Brabant, and at Lovain became acquainted with Lipſius; in 1600 the duke of Mecklenburg nominated him profeſſor of divinity at Roſtock; he was afterwards ſuperintendant in 1605, and died in 1638: he publiſhed ſeveral valuable tracts, moſtly on theological ſubjects, and ſome on the eccleſiaſtical antiquities of Mecklenburg.

VII. Johannes Draconites, a Lutheran miniſter, was born at Carloſtadt, in Franconia. Having made himſelf maſter of the learned languages, he applied to the ſtudy of divinity, which he taught publicly at Marburg, and afterwards at Roſtock: here he was made profeſſor of divinity; and we find him more than once in the liſt of the rectors of that univerſity. At length his great merit raiſed him to the biſhopric of Sambia, in ducal Pruſſia, which he afterwards reſigned, and retired to Wittenberg, where he undertook a polyglot Bible in five languages, but did not live to finiſh it; he died in 1566, at the age of ſeventy. He publiſhed a great number of Latin commentaries upon the Bible, beſides ſome pieces in the German language.

VIII. Johannes Aurifaber, a Lutheran miniſter, and profeſſor of divinity at Roſtock. Duke Henry the Peaceable being deſirous of providing this univerſity with eminent theologians,

gians, ſent Arnoldus Burenius to Wittenberg in 1550, to conſult with Melancthon about proper perſons for filling the places of divinity profeſſors; when that great man recommended Johannes Aurifaber and David Chytræus, who were both nominated to the profeſſorſhips of divinity, and diſcharged their office with dignity and reputation, to the great advancement of piety and learning. Aurifaber was paſtor of the church of St. Nicholas at Roſtock.

IX. At the ſame time Thielemanus Heſhuſius was preacher at St. James's church in Roſtock, and rendered himſelf conſpicuous for his great improvement in theological ſtudies.

But Roſtock was not the only place famous for learned men at this period; there were other towns in Mecklenburg that alſo partook of this honour. In the year 1562, the learned Wigandus was ſuperintendant of Wiſmar, where he wrote part of the famous Centuries of Magdeburg, but afterwards returned to Jena, in Saxony, in order to apply himſelf wholly to that work. At the ſame time flouriſhed in Mecklenburg, the very learned Eraſmus Alberus, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his profound knowledge in divinity, and died in 1553, ſuperintendant of New Brandenburg.

We might mention ſeveral other ingenious perſons at the cloſe of this century, who were an ornament to Mecklenburg by their ſolid piety and extenſive erudition; but it would exceed our plan of a general hiſtory of the country, to enter into a longer detail upon this ſubject. Perhaps we have already expatiated too far; though when we conſider the benefit and advantage accruing to a country from the advancement of learning, the recording the names of thoſe who cheriſhed and who cultivated the different arts and ſciences, is more worthy of the public notice, in a philoſophic light, than a melancholy deſcription of foreign or inteſtine wars, of the plundering of towns, and the devaſtation of defenceleſs provinces *.

* Beehr, Franck, Roſtochium literatum, Hiſt. of the Reſtoration of Learning in Mecklenburg, Bacmeiſter.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Duke Chriſtopher is ſet at liberty. Privilege de non appellando granted to duke John Albert. Diſpute with Pomerania ſettled. Diſturbances in Roſtock. The two dukes commiſſioned by the emperor to quiet thoſe diſturbances. Death of the emperor Ferdinand I. *who is ſucceeded by Maximilian* II. *Duke John Albert lays ſiege to Roſtock. The town ſurrenders, and the citizens are diſarmed. Freſh diſturbances in that city. Treaty of peace between the dukes of Mecklenburg, and the inhabitants of Roſtock. The government of that city changed.*

1569. Duke Chriſtopher obtains his liberty.

DURING the courſe of theſe tranſactions in Mecklenburg, the unfortunate duke Chriſtopher, quite tired out with his long captivity, and deſpairing of relief from any other quarter, thought proper at length to ſubmit to the only condition on which he could recover his liberty: this was to renounce the archbiſhoprick of Riga, and all his claims and pretenſions in the province of Livonia. After he had made this ſacrifice, the king of Poland ordered him to be releaſed from his confinement: he then ſet out for his native country, and travelling through Brandenburg, was received in the moſt affectionate manner by his brother Charles, who went to meet him on the frontiers. On the twentieth of June he arrived in Mecklenburg, and was conducted by his brother to Ratzburg: duke Charles from thence repaired to Schwerin on the twenty-fifth of July, with a view of ſoliciting duke John Albert to take their unfortunate brother's caſe into conſideration: this prince had contracted very large debts in Poland, and was moreover incumbered with a great number of dependents and ſervants, ſo that the biſhoprick of Ratzburg could not afford him a ſufficient maintenance; he therefore hoped, the duke would be pleaſed to add ſomething to his income. This re-

preſentation had a proper effect: duke John Albert was ſo affected with his brother's misfortunes, that, in order to ſupport his dignity, he granted him the prefectures of Gadebuſch and Tempzin, with an additional income of five hundred dollars a year. This grant was dated at Guſtrow, January the twenty-ſeventh, 1570: here alſo a provincial diet was held the ſame year, and the ſtates gave him ten thouſand florins towards the payment of his debts; his revenue was alſo increaſed by a conſiderable penſion from the emperors Maximilian and Rudolphus, who had a great opinion of duke Chriſtopher's abilities, and were deſirous of his advice and aſſiſtance, in caſe of a war with the Turks or any other enemies of the empire. But there cannot be a ſtronger proof of his military reputation, than that even king Sigiſmund, after reſtoring him to his liberty, endeavoured by the offer of a very extraordinary ſalary, to tempt him to enter into his ſervice; but the duke magnanimouſly refuſed it. He had too long ſtruggled with adverſe fortune; and not chuſing to truſt himſelf any more in her power, he retired to Schoneberg, where he ſpent the remainder of his days as a philoſopher.

Death of duke Chriſtopher.

THIS good prince died ſuddenly at Tempzin, in 1592, on the fourth of March; his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Courland, had been to pay him a viſit, and he converſed with her the ſame day a conſiderable time, without ſhewing any marks of illneſs. At night as he was going to bed, he took leave of his wife and daughter, and ſaid, he hoped to ſee them happy in the other world: his motto was, *Expecto in Deum at ſpero ſilendo.* David Chytræus pronounced his funeral oration, where he gives a lively picture of his hardſhips and adventures, and juſtly enlarges on his patience and reſignation under all the perſecutions of fortune: his learning is alſo taken notice of by the writers of that age, as a proof of which, he wrote a book *de Vetere Philoſophia*, which was printed at Roſtock in 1572, and dedicated to his kinſman duke Charles, of Sweden. He was deeply read in the theological writings of thoſe times; he was alſo a very good chemiſt, to which ſtudy he devoted great part of his time, and was exceedingly

ingly fond of muſic. Though he had ſeveral diſputes with his brothers concerning the diviſion of their father's territories, he never carried matters to any degree of animoſity or hatred; for he was often heard to ſay, "That he entruſted his ſubſtance "and his rights to God; as they were mere temporal con- "cerns, for the ſake of which he ſhould think it baſe and un- "worthy of him, to hate his brother, or his brother's children." He was twice married: firſt, to Dorothea, daughter of Frederick I. king of Denmark, by whom he had no iſſue: ſecondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Guſtavus Ericus, king of Sweden, by whom he had an only child, Margaret Elizabeth. He was interred in the great church of Schwerin, where a handſome monument was erected to his memory by his diſconſolate widow *.

The

* David Chytræus wrote the two following epitaphs in honour of this prince.

Quiſquis ades, noſtros pigeat ne noſſe labores,
Haud tenues manes vilis & umbra ſumus.
Magna Henetum de gente ſatus qui ſceptra tulerunt
Parva peto, exiguo tempore ſiſte moram.
Dura mihi puero rapuerunt fata parentem,
Cura mei ad fratrum decidit inde fidem.
Ereptus patriæ, Gallis datus inſcius obſes,
Quæ fuerit nondum eſt cognita cauſa mihi.
Mox ubi jam firmis ſe viribus extulit ætas,
Extulit & mala ſors altius ipſa caput.
En iterum charis patriæ ſeductus ab oris,
Diviſos penitus mittor aduſque Getas.
Nec ſatis hoc, ſævi fierem niſi præda Poloni,
Dum jubet ad pactos ire Cupido thoros.
Teſtis Rava mihi longos ubi multa per annos
Crudeli a populo non toleranda tuli.
Incertis rebus fratrum pia turba parentis
Incumbens noſtras ſola tuetur opes.
At Deus exilia & fortem miſeratus iniquam,
Adfuit, & tantis ſpem dedit ipſe malis.
Conjugio duplici Regum de ſtirpe beavit
Danica Virgo tuo, Virgo Sueca tuo.
Me quoque Cæſareæ juverunt munera dextræ,
Quum pia pro Auſtriacis arma movenda forent.
Auſtriacæque domus columen, Majorque Rodolphus
Imperio hanc deinceps continuavit opem.

Quo

THIS ſame princeſs returned afterwards to her native country of Sweden, and took her daughter along with her, who was afterwards married to duke John Albert II. of Mecklenburg Guſtrow.

THE year in which duke Chriſtopher was releaſed from his Poliſh captivity, was remarkable for ſome other advantages in favour of the houſe of Mecklenburg; for then it was that duke John Albert and his brother Ulric obtained of the emperor Maximilian II. the privilege *de non appellando*, which prevented appeals from the courts of judicature in Mecklenburg. This was a farther confirmation of the ſupreme tribunal, erected in 1558, which now derived new force from the emperor Maximilian, in ſupport of the ducal authority; this privilege at that time was very moderate, reaching only to three hundred florins. In what manner it afterwards came to be enlarged we ſhall mention hereafter.

1569. The privilege *do non appellando.*

THIS ſame year was amicably ſettled the diſpute in which the dukes of Mecklenburg had been for ſome time embroiled with thoſe of Pomerania, concerning the limits in the neighbourhood of Ribnitz: the inhabitants of Mecklenburg laid claim to the whole right of fiſhing in the Reckenitz; and the Pomeranians pretended to have a right to one half. There had been already a quarrel about this fiſhery in 1561, when the people of Damgarten took away the nets from the fiſhermen of Ribnitz; but now this affair was conſidered of ſuch importance, that the dukes of Pomerania convened the ſtates at Tribuſees, where the matter was

Diſpute with Pomerania ſettled.

Quo cum plura darent pietas ſperare fideſque,
Vindice & Auguſtum numen adire paro;
Ecce alio nobis compoſtæ judice lites,
Suntque magis ſancti jura petita fori.
Jam mihi terra vale! curæque valete caducæ,
Cum ſuperis parta eſt ſors magis ampla mihi.

Aliud.

Vita mihi duris fortunæ exercita rebus,
An vita, an potius mors fuit, ambiguum eſt.
At ſubita, & blando mors continuata ſopori,
An mors, an potius ſit ſopor, ambiguum eſt.
Nec ſopor eſt, nec mors, fælix mutatio vitæ eſt,
Qua mihi pro duro parta labore quies.
Chara mihi ſoboles, longum chariſſima conjux,
Vos fratres & opum cura valete! ſat eſt.

long debated. How the affair was compromiſed we do not find mentioned; but, from a memorial publiſhed concerning theſe matters by the court of Mecklenburg in 1569, we may infer that the diſpute was of a more ancient date, and had lain for ſome time before the imperial court in a judiciary form *.

1573 A full account of the diſturbances of Roſtock.

We come now to the ſettling of the diſturbances at Roſtock, which had continued for many years, and of which we had delayed to give an account in the uſual order of time, to the end that we might repreſent the whole affair in a ſingle proſpect. We ſhall therefore trace theſe unhappy troubles to their ſource, and ſhew in what manner the fire of diſcord firſt kindled, how far it ſpread its deſtructive flames, and by what means it was at length happily extinguiſhed.

Origin of thoſe diſturbances.

The Roſtockers, grown inſolent by the extenſiveneſs of their commerce, and a long ſeries of proſperity, had carried their ideas of liberty to ſuch a height of extravagance, as to expreſs continual jealouſies and uneaſineſſes even at the moſt indifferent actions of their ſovereign. In the year 1557 duke John Albert happened to quarter in the neighbourhood of Roſtock a few ſoldiers, deſtined to the aſſiſtance of his brother Chriſtopher in Livonia: alarmed at this ſtep, the inhabitants of that city mounted the ramparts, and ſtood to their arms, as if a foreign enemy were going to ſcale the walls, and the whole town was upon the point of being plundered and reduced to aſhes: ſo groundleſs an alarm was juſtly conſidered by duke John Albert as a mark of diſreſpect, very unbecoming a people who were indebted to his anceſtors for their preſent flouriſhing ſtate, and for thoſe very privileges of which they now appeared ſo jealous.

Licentiouſneſs of the citizens.

To ſuch a pitch was the licentiouſneſs of theſe citizens arrived, that upon every the leaſt ſuſpicion or pretence, they were ready to take up arms, and even to depoſe their magiſtrates. Diſturbances of this kind had often happened among thoſe riotous plebeians, as the reader may have obſerved in the preceding part of this Hiſtory; but the ſedition which broke out in 1560 made the greateſt noiſe, a nd had like to have termi-

* Chemn. Latom. Beehr, Kluver, Buckh. Franck.

nated

nated in the ruin of the inhabitants. In order to reconcile the two brothers, and to eſtabliſh union and harmony in the province, the ſtates of the country had promiſed and agreed, in virtue of the treaties of Butzow, Wiſmar, and Ruppin, to pay the debts of duke Albert, which amounted to four hundred eighty-ſeven thouſand three hundred florins. The aſſeſſing of this payment was a matter of ſome difficulty; at length the town of Roſtock, in conjunction with Wiſmar, after a long deliberation, undertook to diſcharge the ſum of eighty thouſand florins, on condition of having its privileges confirmed: as this ſum was to be raiſed in Roſtock in 1560, the ſenate were for impoſing an exciſe; the burghers on the other hand inſiſted on taking the money out of the treaſury: but the magiſtrates declaring that the public coffers were empty, the mutinous citizens demanded an account of the management of the revenue, and of the ſequeſtrated church-lands; to enforce their demand, they choſe ſixty tribunes, as they had done before on the like occaſions, with a commiſſion to defend the cauſe of the commonalty, and to act in ſuch manner as they ſhould think conducive to the general good of the city. Their inſolence increaſing by degrees, they had the preſumption to deprive the ſenate of the keys of the town, and of the treaſury, and even to confine them in the town-houſe, till they agreed to confirm the tumultuous and unjuſt reſolutions of the rioters.

The two dukes commiſſioned by the emperor to quiet thoſe diſturbances

In order to quiet theſe diſturbances, the two dukes uſed every poſſible method of reconciliation; but as the commonalty refuſed to ſubmit to the authority of thoſe princes, the affair was referred to the deciſion of the emperor Ferdinand I. This prince iſſued out a commiſſion to the two dukes, with equal power of inquiring into the affair, and puniſhing the authors of the diſturbance. The commiſſion however became void by the death of the emperor, at the very time when he was endeavouring alſo to reconcile the two religions. He had given orders to the learned Caſſander, for ſtating thoſe articles on which they were all unanimous, and from thence drawing up a formulary, which might be agreeable to both parties.

Death of the emperor Ferdinand I.

But this pacific prince did not live to reap the fruit of his labour, and his death prevented the execution of a project, which in all probability would have reſtored peace to the church of Germany.

His ſon Maximilian ſucceeds him.

FERDINAND was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his eldeſt ſon Maximilian II. this prince had been choſen king of the Romans at the electoral diet held at Frankfort in 1562, at which duke John Albert had alſo aſſiſted. At the inſtance of the ſyndic of Roſtock, the new emperor granted a commiſſion to duke John Albert, to reduce the inhabitants of that city either by fair means, or by force of arms; but all methods of accommodation proving ineffectual, the duke collected a ſtrong body of troops, and laid ſiege to Roſtock. The rebellious inhabitants made a moſt obſtinate defence, but at length were obliged to ſubmit; the town ſurrendered by capitulation: the burghers ſuſtained no injury in their perſons or effects; but the ſixty tribunes were diſplaced, and the act by which the ſenate had been compelled to confirm the reſolutions of thoſe demagogues, was publicly burnt. The duke having ordered the keys of the town to be taken from the ſenate, introduced the remainder of his troops within the walls, diſarmed the burghers, and demanded the ſum of ſixty three thouſand dollars as an indemnity for his expences.

1565. Duke John Albert lays ſiege to Roſtock.

The town ſurrenders, and the inhabitants diſarmed.

Duke John Albert oppoſed by his brother Ulric.

THE violence of this proceeding gave offence to ſeveral princes, and among the reſt to duke Ulric, John Albert's brother: whether it be that the former was grown jealous of the latter's power and ſucceſs, or was actuated by a purer motive, namely, a regard to the liberties of that unhappy city, he made loud complaints, that duke John Albert had carried matters againſt the Roſtockers with too high a hand, eſpecially as the whole had been tranſacted without his conſent or knowledge. Being fully determined to oppoſe the ſteps that had been lately taken by his brother at Roſtock, he ſet out for Brunſwick, in order to apply for ſuccours to the circle of Lower Saxony. The emperor likewiſe was diſſatisfied with the conduct of duke John Albert, as having greatly exceeded his commiſſion, and ſent orders

orders for him to evacuate the town; but the duke paid no attention to the imperial mandate, and while his brother was ſoliciting the Danes for aſſiſtance, he had recourſe himſelf to the alliance of Sweden. To prevent any farther ill conſequences, the emperor, the elector of Saxony, and the circle of Lower Saxony, ſent their reſpective miniſters to Roſtock, with inſtructions to mediate an accommodation between the magiſtrates and the people, and eſpecially to inſiſt on the duke's withdrawing his troops from that city. The ſenate in the main were not pleaſed with this meaſure; but as the ducal troops continued to give umbrage, by keeping poſſeſſion of the town, the imperial miniſter at length convinced both the magiſtrates and the people of the expediency of a reconciliation, for the common ſecurity of the republic. This repreſentation had the deſired effect, and an accommodation enſued between the magiſtrates and the burghers, without the knowledge of duke John Albert: ſo incenſed was this prince at ſuch a clandeſtine proceeding, that he ordered the chief actors in that affair to be confined; but, at the imperial miniſter's interceſſion, he ſet them again at liberty. 1566.

DURING theſe tranſactions, duke Ulric had alſo brought a body of troops into that neighbourhood, with a view, as he pretended, of aſſerting his right to the city of Roſtock; duke John Albert now thought proper to imitate the policy of the imperial miniſter, without giving him any notice of his deſign, he immediately ſigned a treaty with his brother, in conſequence of which duke Ulric's troops were alſo admitted into the city. The two princes publiſhed a manifeſto in defence of this conduct, declaring that they had juſt cauſe for puniſhing the rebellious inhabitants; duke Ulric alſo demanded of the city ſixty thouſand dollars, as an indemnity for his expences. The imperial miniſter, obſerving this ferment, and ſeeing himhimſelf outwitted, withdrew from thence and returned to Vienna. Soon after his departure the dukes ordered a part of the walls to be demoliſhed, and a citadel to be erected, with a view of bridling the inhabitants. Had the ducal troops continued

Duke John Albert and duke Ulric reconciled.

DukeUlric's troops admitted into the city.

The dukes build a citadel at Roſtock.

nued in the town, the burghers would not have had an opportunity of creating any farther disturbance; but as soon as the soldiers retired to the citadel, the Rostockers raised new works about the town, and bidding defiance to the duke's forces, seemed determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. The dukes stopped up the harbour of Warnemunde with Danish ships, and laid siege again to the city.

The city has recourse again to arms, and is again besieged.

1570. The parties are summoned by the emperor to appear at Prague.

AFFAIRS being thus circumstanced, the emperor Maximilian determined to put an end to the dispute, by summoning the parties to appear before him at Prague. Both the dukes and the city of Rostock sent their deputies, and duke John Albert followed them in person on the twentieth of March. The emperor received the duke with great affability, entertained him at his table, and invited him to different parties of pleasure: Conferences were held with the imperial ministers, but it was impossible to come to any decision. The duke being pressed to demolish the citadel, made answer in plain terms, that the ground was his own, and he apprehended he could do whatever he pleased with it: this was reported to the emperor, who replied, that notwithstanding the ground was his property, yet he could not convert it to such uses as might be prejudicial to the inhabitants of Rostock: that the supreme jurisdiction belonged to the imperial crown; and if the duke had absolutely a power to do as he listed, how came he to yield homage to his imperial majesty? The affair was then referred to the diet, which was shortly to be held at Spire; nothing however was done at this assembly: and the duke returned to Schwerin on the eleventh of July.

Treaty of peace between the dukes and the city of Rostock. 1573.

THE city of Rostock continuing still to complain, the imperial, Saxon, and Brandenburg ambassadors offered their mediation, in hopes of bringing about an accommodation. The negotiation of those powers proved ineffectual; but the endeavours of the states of Mecklenburg in the month of July that same year were so successful, as to produce a treaty of peace at Gustrow, more advantageous to the city than could have been expected: for notwithstanding the magistrates were obliged to

aſk pardon of the dukes in the public market-place, and to yield homage to them as their ſovereigns, ſtill the privileges of the city of Roſtock were all confirmed, and for one hundred thouſand dollars the burghers were permitted to demoliſh the fortreſs. The day on which the news of this treaty arrived at Roſtock was the feaſt of St. Matthew, which on that account is ſtill obſerved as an anniverſary rejoicing.

Different compacts with the city of Roſtock. 1574.

THIS ſame year was concluded the firſt famous convention, or perpetual compact between the dukes of Mecklenburg and the inhabitants of Roſtock. The enſuing year the two dukes paid a viſit to that city, and moſt of the articles that had been agreed upon, were then carried into execution; whatever could not be thoroughly effected, was ſettled by an agreement, to which the Roſtockers after the death of duke John Albert would not abide; but the king of Denmark obliged them to ſtand to the treaty: hence aroſe the ſecond convention in 1584 *, and theſe two treaties are the groundwork or foundation of the preſent liberties of Roſtock, to which the inhabitants of that city are wont to have recourſe in caſe of any contention or diſpute with the ducal family.

Change of government in Roſtock.

By the way we muſt obſerve that the company of the hundred men at Roſtock, as they are commonly called, was eſtabliſhed in virtue of the treaty of 1584, inſtead of the ſixty tribunes, who owed their exiſtence only to revolters; for as the citizens found it vaſtly troubleſome and inconvenient to aſſiſt in a body at the almoſt daily public conſultations, thoſe hundred were choſen as their repreſentatives: and ſince even thoſe hundred could not always be preſent, ſixteen were elected to repreſent the reſt, and to tranſact all public buſineſs with plenary authority. The above regulation ſtill obtains in Roſtock. During thoſe troubles it is ſaid that a conjurer of Roſtock conſulted the devil, in order to know the iſſue of that mighty convention: the anſwer he received in regard to the town, was, *Cauſæ victor eris, nimium licet inde groveris:* and in reſpect to the dukes, *Cauſæ tolle mo-*

* Both the conventions may be ſeen in Kluver.

ram,

ram, quia tempus perdis & horam. It is obvious that theſe verſes were written after the event, ſo that we give them only as an inſtance of ſuperſtition and popular credulity *.

CHAP. V.

The Conſtitution in church and ſtate ſettled in Mecklenburg. Ancient ſtate of juriſprudence in Germany. The act entitled Public Peace. *Riſe of the new regulations in Mecklenburg. Reviſion of the liturgy, and the ſettling of church affairs. Regulation of the courts of juſtice, and of the police. Extraordinary will of duke John Albert. Affairs of the empire. Death of John Albert. His character, marriage, and iſſue.*

The conſtitution in church and ſtate ſettled.

1557. DURING theſe contentions with the city of Roſtock, the dukes regulated the conſtitution both of church and ſtate in the very beſt manner, and on the very ſame footing as it now ſubſiſts. With regard to eccleſiaſtical affairs, they made an order for a new and general viſitation of the churches, and a reviſal of the liturgy: on this occaſion the Reformation was completed, and the ſuperfluous eccleſiaſtical foundations were intirely ſuppreſſed. In the year 1563 the agreement, called *Formula Concordiæ* was concluded with the town and univerſity of Roſtock; and ſome time after, the great Conſiſtorium, or eccleſiaſtical court was eſtabliſhed in that city: an order was then made for regulating the conſiſtory, and office of ſuperintendants. Thus were eccleſiaſtical affairs ſettled. With reſpect to the conſtitution of the ſtate, moſt of the preſent laws were either new modelled, or the old ones confirmed; among the reſt, that of 1572 relating to the police and good order of the province. But before this time, viz. in 1558, the ſupreme court of judicature at Sternberg had received a beginning; and the year following

1563.

1570.

* Seb. and Luke Bacmeiſter, Chytræus, pompa ſplendida, Luckner Singul. Mecklenb. Chemn. Caſel. Mylius, Thuanus, Lendenberg, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck.

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it was brought to perfection. An agreement was therefore made with the nobility and ſtates in 1572, by which they obtained the privileges known by the name of *Reverſales*. Such were the regulations themſelves; we muſt now examine into their ſeveral cauſes, an inveſtigation that perhaps will ſtrike ſome light into the preſent ſtate of the laws of that country: but we are previouſly to obſerve, that the nobility and ſtates of Mecklenburg had a conſiderable ſhare in the enacting of all theſe regulations, as their complaints on various points gave occaſion to inquire into the circumſtances of public affairs, and to eſtabliſh thoſe uſeful inſtitutions.

Ancient State of juriſprudence in Germany.

The Germans were almoſt ſtrangers to regular courts of judicature, except the inferior tribunals of city magiſtrates, till towards the beginning of the ſixteenth century: cauſes were heard and determined by the princes in council, or by the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates: but their deciſions were not much regarded, as both the nobles and citizens depended more on the ſword, than on the law, for the defence of their rights and properties. Hence it came to paſs, that if the prince was not able immediately to enforce his order, the contending parties were ready to decide the matter by a challenge: nay, they ſeldom laid their complaints before the prince, till they had firſt endeavoured to maintain their cauſe by open violence. This horrid abuſe, as we have already obſerved, was ſuppreſſed at the diet of Worms, in 1495, in the reign of the emperor Maximilian I. by an act intitled, The Public Peace.

The act intitled Public Peace under the emperor Maximilian I.

In virtue of this regulation, all private challenges were aboliſhed for ever, and the infringers of that ordinance were put under the ban of the empire: thus the nobles equally with the plebeians, in caſe of any contention or diſpute, were obliged to refrain from force, and to ſubmit the determination of their cauſes to their reſpective ſovereign. In order moreover to decide the conteſts that might ariſe between different princes or ſtates, a ſupreme court of judicature was erected, to which they gave the name of The Imperial Chamber; this was originally held at Frankfort; thence removed to Worms and to Spire, and at

length to Wetzlar, where it is now ſettled: it conſiſts of a chief judge, nominated by the emperor, of two preſidents, one Proteſtant and the other Roman Catholic; and of ſeventeen counſellors.

What gave riſe to the new regulations in Mecklenburg.

In conſequence of the above regulation, the duty of a ſovereign was become more burdenſome, and the art of government a more arduous province. The ſeveral princes now found it inſufficient to ſummon their council a few times, as had been hitherto the practice, for the diſpatch of public affairs, or the deciſion of private cauſes. They endeavoured at firſt to ſurmount the difficulty by a more conſtant application to the adminiſtration of juſtice; but they ſoon found themſelves embaraſſed with the conteſts ariſing in the provincial aſſemblies or diets, which had been long eſtabliſhed in all parts of Germany. The buſineſs tranſacted at thoſe meetings was of ſuch conſequence and weight, as convinced them of the expediency of ſummoning their council much oftener, and of having more frequent meetings of their courts of juſtice. This was exactly the caſe with regard to Mecklenburg; the difficulties in which the ſtates were involved, ſhewed the inſufficiency of the former meetings and aſſemblies; whence aroſe the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a right method of judicature, by which the welfare and tranquility of the whole country might be properly ſecured. The ſtates likewiſe by their counſel and advice contributed to this form, and thus the preſent conſtitution at length was fortunately ſettled.

The reviſion of the liturgy and ſettling the affairs of the church.

To come to the new church viſitation, and the reviſion of the liturgy, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the liturgy was publiſhed at firſt with the concurrence of the ſtates in 1552, in duke John Albert's name, but was now reviſed and made its appearance in Low German, in the name of both the dukes. The viſitation followed in conſequence of this liturgy, and it was the more neceſſary as the two preceding viſitations had not yet removed all the relics of the Romiſh religion. But now the work was effectually done; ſo that the convent of Dobbertin, which had been hitherto very ſteady in adhering to

the old doctrines, agreed now to embrace the Lutheran religion. The perſons who made this viſitation were Chriſtopher Linſtow, and Chriſtopher Hahn, deputies of the nobility; Gerard Oehmeke, ſuperintendant of Guſtrow; Tilemann Heſhuſius and George Venediker, profeſſors of Roſtock; George Ryke, preacher in that ſame city; and Simon Lippold, or Leopold, ſecretary. In conſequence of the above viſitation, the convents were all ſuppreſſed, and prelacy was aboliſhed, except that the biſhopric of Schwerin, and the two commanderies of Mirow and Nemerow continued a long time in their ancient condition. But the biſhopric of Schwerin, beſides being a ſtate of the province, was alſo a principality of the empire. At the time of the viſitation, duke Ulric was biſhop of that ſee: the commandery of Nemerow continued till the treaty of Weſtphalia, and the incumbent retained the name of a prelate: yet he appeared at the provincial diets in the order of the nobility. The commandery of Mirow did not ſubſiſt longer than 1570, when the dukes wreſted it intirely from the order of St. John of Jeruſalem: indeed it was given again in 1593 to the grand maſter of Sameburg, but with this expreſs condition, that it ſhould be always conferred on a prince of the houſe of Mecklenburg: at the treaty of Munſter it was ſettled in full property on the ducal family.

THUS epiſcopacy was ſuppreſſed betimes in this country, though till the peace of Weſtphalia the poſſeſſors of thoſe dignities were diſtinguiſhed by the name of prelates: true it is, that for the benefit and advantage of the nobility, and for the education of their daughters, the three convents of Ribnitz, Dobbertin, and Malchow, were either continued, or partly reſtored; yet the prelatical ſtate was not renewed, but the ſuperiors of the canonries now repreſented thoſe foundations among the reſt of the nobility, as the provoſts had done before among the prelates. We refer the reader to other authors * for the documents of this grant of the convents to the nobility, and the bond which the conventual ſuperiors at that time

* Beehr, Kluver, &c.

were obliged to ſign, that they would not adminiſter thoſe foundations in any other manner, than according to promiſe or agreement: there he will find alſo that a new diſcipline compoſed by the faculty of divines at Roſtock, was preſcribed to the Lutheran canoneſſes.

THE *Formula Concordiæ*, ſettled with the ſenate and univerſity of Roſtock in 1563, was a conſequence of the new regulation, which may be conſidered in ſome meaſure, as the foundation of the univerſity; but as it was very poſſible that ſome abuſes might have been been introduced among that learned body during the late diſturbances; another form or regulation was therefore eſtabliſhed in 1577. The conſiſtory was a work, which the dukes had already begun to think of in 1557, and the town of Roſtock was looked upon as a proper place for that purpoſe; but the refractory citizens would not agree to it: yet as there was a neceſſity in the mean time for ſuch an aſſembly, it was firſt appointed at Schwerin in 1567; and by a reſolution of the ſtates in 1570, it was fixed at length in the town of Roſtock, though againſt the conſent of the inhabitants. Some * pretend that there never was a conſiſtory at Schwerin, merely for this reaſon, that there are no documents of ſuch a court being appointed in that city in 1567; juſt as if nothing were true, but what is written on old parchments. But this opinion is refuted by ocular witneſſes †: others ‡ allow there was a conſiſtory at Schwerin, yet do not think it extended its juriſdiction beyond that dioceſe: but where then were the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Mecklenburg tranſacted, ſince there was no conſiſtory as yet at Roſtock? And how comes it that the ſtates of that biſhoprick ſhould afterwards freely part with their own conſiſtory, and put themſelves under a foreign juriſdiction; and this when they were ignorant as yet whether that biſhoprick would continue in the houſe of Mecklenburg? We are therefore inclined to think, that the conſiſtory was at firſt held at court, without being reckoned a diſtinct tribunal or college; ſince the Roſtockers

* Gerdes. † Latomus & Hederich. ‡ Beehr.

would not consent to its being erected in their city; that at length it became necessary, in 1567, to nominate particular counsellors for that branch of business, who were obliged to hold their meetings at Schwerin; that duke Ulric on this occasion prevailed with his chapter to constitute one tribunal or college, in conjunction with the country of Mecklenburg, in order to save the expences of a distinct court of justice; and lastly, that the establishment of the consistory was completed in 1578, when it received its present form. This tribunal had been resolved upon in 1569, and it was opened at Rostock in 1570; but the revenue for supporting it was granted in 1571: * the rules of this court had been made before by the chancellor Lucanus, and had been even read from the pulpit in the month of January 1569. The directions for the superintendant appeared first in 1571; this was to be the pattern, by which every member of the consistory should be directed.

The courts of justice settled.

As the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs was made by the concurrence of the states, the temporal affairs of the province were also settled in the same manner. The high court of judicature of Sternberg was opened at the earnest sollicitation of the states in 1588, by the chancellor Lucanus, who was also the author of the method of administring justice in that court, published the same year. At first it was not held at Sternberg, but alternately at Schwerin and Gustrow, till at the recommendation of the states, Sternberg became its usual residence: after this it was held once at Parchim, and again removed to Gustrow, where it now remains. It consists of one president, one judge, and twelve or thirteen assessors, of whom some are state counsellors, others privy counsellors of the duke, and others burgomasters of Rostock, Gustrow, Parchim, and New Brandenburg †.

Regulation of the police.

The regulation of the police was long before the year 1572; but as the states at every provincial diet found occasion to make some

* See the documents in Westhpal. Diplom.

† This court has undergone several other changes, which may be seen in Ungnad. Amænit.

alteration

alteration in that article, which they likewiſe practiſed in regard to the courts of juſtice; hence it is, that ſo early as 1572 they were both reduced to the preſent form. The order of the police was printed with the *Reverſales* of thoſe two dukes: theſe, with the *Reverſales* of duke Adolphus Frederick, and duke John Albert II. in the year 1621, as alſo the reſolution on grievances, and the Schwerin agreement of duke Frederick William in 1701, were all publiſhed together in 1724, under the title of *Jura Mecklenburgica* by Dobbertinien at New Brandenburg. The *Reverſales* which the ſtates obtained in 1572, were a confirmation of the liberties and privileges, which they enjoyed at that time: this grant was made them, when they undertook to diſcharge the ducal debt of four hundred thouſand florins.

Payment of the duke's debts.

SOME part of the above mentioned ſum might perhaps have been paid at a ſtipulated term; but as the dukes continually engaged in new expences, this was the occaſion of their being always in debt: at the ſame time the ſtates endeavoured to reap ſome advantage from the neceſſity of their ſovereign, till they obtained at length whatever they deſired. The whole ſum was four hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand three hundred florins; Roſtock and Wiſmar had undertaken to pay eighty thouſand: but we have already obſerved that this was productive of a thouſand diſturbances. The ſtates, nobility, and country engaged to diſcharge the remainder; and that was compaſſed by means of the three convents: upon the whole, the *Reverſales* are the baſis of the ſeveral privileges of the ſtates of Mecklenburg, eſpecially of the nobility; and hence it is, that in all diſputes with the ſerene family, they conſtantly appeal to thoſe records *.

1573. Extraordinary will of John Albert.

THE year ſubſequent to the regulation of the police, duke John Albert finding his health greatly impaired, made his will, which was reckoned a very extraordinary proceeding with regard to the family. He eſtabliſhed the right of primogeniture, by ordaining, that prince John his eldeſt ſon ſhould ſucceed him

* Beehr, Kluver, Seb. Bacmeiſt. Lat. Weſtphal. Struven, Chytræus, Woldenberg de Orig. Conſiſtor. Paſſau Comment. ad Reverſal. Mecklenb. &c.

in

in the dukedom; as alſo in the dominions belonging to his brothers, in caſe they happened to die without male iſſue. And for the maintenance of his youngeſt ſon Sigiſmund Auguſtus, he aſſigned the prefecture of Strelitz, with the commandery of Mirow, and the monaſtery of Ivenack, beſides an annual penſion of ſix thouſand florins. This will was confirmed the year following by the emperor Maximilian II. yet it proved afterwards the ſource of great altercations in the ducal family: whether the regulation itſelf was proper or equitable, many afterwards doubted; and it is certain that his grandſons paid no regard to it, but made a partition of their dominions, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this hiſtory. The reaſons however which he aſſigns in his will for this regulation, are very ſubſtantial: "Nothing, he ſays, proves more deſtructive to provinces, than "the dividing them into parcels. For this reaſon the feudal "cuſtoms of Lombardy, prohibit any partition to be made in "their noble tenures: what abuſes muſt ariſe, where two in-"veſted with equal power happen to command; he himſelf "has unfortunately experienced: for neither of them in that "caſe enjoys the ſovereignty; diſcord is propagated between "the equeſtrian order and the burghers, while one prince com-"mands, and the other prohibits. Thus the authority of the "prince is weakened, religious quarrels are fomented, and the "public tranquility is interrupted: for this reaſon his grand-"father Magnus, though he had two brothers, had the ſole "government of the province, and he carried the dignity "thereof to ſo high a pitch, that the ducal houſe of Mecklen-"burg was greatly reſpected by all the princes of the empire, "and its alliance generally courted." The will was dated the twenty-ſecond of December, 1573.

By this will duke John Albert appointed his brother duke Ulric guardian to his children, who were under age: the next year an aſſembly was held at Wiſmar on the twenty-fourth of July, where ſome diſputes concerning the boundaries were ſettled with the electors of Brandenburg; here alſo it was propoſed to dig a new canal from the lake of Schwerin, to be carried through

1574. Project of a new canal.

through the village of Viechel to the town of Wiſmar, and from the river Stoer on the Eld, through Newſtadt, Grabow, and Eldena, to the river Elbe. The propoſal was very acceptable to the ſtates of the provinces, as conducive to trade and navigation; on which account a deputation was ſent to William, duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, begging he would not oppoſe the ſcheme, but permit ſalt to be tranſported on this canal to Wiſmar: the duke gave an evaſive anſwer, which for that time retarded the project; it was alſo oppoſed by the king of Denmark, who objected, that ſuch a canal, opening a communication between the eaſt and north ſeas would be a great prejudice to the paſſage of the Sound.

1575. Affairs of the empire.

THE following year, the emperor Maximilian II. convened a diet at Ratiſbon, at which his eldeſt ſon Rudolphus II. was elected king of the Romans. During the holding of the diet, the emperor departed this life, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Rudolphus II. a weak indolent prince. At this very juncture, William, duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg was performing his ſtudies at Roſtock, where he received the academical faſces; this young prince waited upon duke John Albert at Schwerin: the duke conducted him into the public ſchool of that city, and cauſed the ſcholars to be examined in his preſence; William was ſo well ſatisfied with the examination, that he ordered thirty crowns to be diſtributed among the ſcholars.

1576. Duke John Albert a great admirer of Chytræus.

THIS ſame year an elegant oration was pronounced in the public hall of the univerſity of Roſtock, by the celebrated David Chytræus, concerning the virtues and duty of a ſovereign. The duke and young princes with a number of profeſſors and ſtudents were preſent at this diſcourſe, and his highneſs was ſo greatly delighted with it, that he not only made Chytræus a preſent of coſtly wine, but likewiſe wrote to him from Schwerin, expreſſing the pleaſure he had received, and the obligations he owed him for ſo excellent a leſſon: this appears from a letter of David Chytræus ſtill extant, wherein he thanks his highneſs for the great favour and honour done him, and which we ſhall here ſubjoin for the ſatisfaction of the curious reader.

"WITH

" WITH all reverence and ſubmiſſion I thank your highneſs,
" not only for vouchſafing lately to honour our univerſity, which
" had been reſtored by your munificence, with your noble preſence,
" and that of the young princes your ſons, generous heirs of their
" father's empire and virtues, but likewiſe for ſignifying to me
" under your own hand, which virtue and honour have always
" guided, that you were greatly pleaſed with having heard my
" oration, and that you often recollect it with the height of
" ſatisfaction: for my part, my prince, I cannot help ranking
" you, for this very condeſcenſion, among thoſe ancient heroes,
" who expreſſed an ambition of excelling the reſt of mankind,
" not ſo much by their power and extent of empire, as by the
" ſtudy of true virtue and wiſdom, and by generous acts of
" clemency and humanity. We read, that Pompey the Great,
" conqueror of the Eaſt bowed his laureat faſces to Poſidonius's
" ſchool in Rhodes; that Julius Cæſar, upon his arrival at Ale-
" xandria, after the great victory in the fields of Pharſalia,
" went to hear philoſophical lectures in that academy; that
" Mark Anthony, the emperor, honoured Hermogenes, the
" rhetor, with his preſence when he read public lectures in the
" academy of Tarſus; that Charles the Great aſſiſted in perſon
" at the examination of the young ſtudents at Paris, educated
" at his expence, when he took occaſion to encourage the
" diligence and improvement of youths of ſlender fortune,
" reprimanding ſome young noblemen for their ſloth and
" indolence, and promiſing alſo to the former the recompence
" of eccleſiaſtical dignities, and other marks of his imperial
" bounty. I have not a fair copy of my oration, but the
" heads or minutes, as I had notice only the preceding
" day: but as to what your highneſs mentions concerning my
" Alphonſus; it is a hiſtory of the actions of that prince, diſ-
" tinguiſhed by many ſhining examples of wiſdom, magnani-
" mity, juſtice, fortitude, moderation, and other virtues wor-
" thy of an hero: ſtruck with the love and admiration
" of theſe, about two years ago, I wrote a diſcourſe on that
" prince's life, collected from the different writers of that time,

" and gave it to one of our ſtudents, to recite it in our public " hall; a copy of which I now ſend to your highneſs, and " make no doubt, but if you ſhould have time to peruſe it, or " to hear it read, it will afford you ſome pleaſure. To my " diſcourſe on Alphonſus, I have ſubjoined a few pages, ex- " tracted from letters which I have lately received from Straſ- " burg, Spire, and Flanders; and though they contain nothing " but what I knew before, yet, as they relate to Alphonſus, I " thought proper to tranſmit them to your highneſs. For your " preſent of wine, I return you my moſt grateful acknowledg- " ments, but I am ſtill more indebted to you, for the elegant " epiſtle in your highneſs's own hand-writing; the apoſtle St. Paul " declares his Epiſtle to the Galatians to be of greater weight, and " deſerving of more thanks, as it was written with his own " hand. It is my conſtant prayer, that the eternal God, the " guardian of virtuous princes, and of ſuch as ſerve him with " all their hearts, may for ever preſerve your highneſs and your " princely iſſue, with the whole illuſtrious houſe of Meck- " lenburg, in ſafety and proſperity. Roſtock, Midſummer- " day, 1575".

Affairs of the empire.

About this very time, a violent quarrel aroſe between Ulric, duke of Brunſwic, and the city of that name, which had like to have broke out into open hoſtilities. In order to ſtifle theſe diſſenſions, the emperor granted a commiſſion to Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, and the two dukes of Mecklenburg, John Albert and Ulric to examine into the affair, and endeavour to reconcile the contending parties; which, by the amicable offices of thoſe princes, was accordingly effected.

1576. Death of duke John Albert.

Not long after this tranſaction, the duchy of Mecklenburg was moſt ſenſibly afflicted with the loſs of duke John Albert, who in 1576 reſigned his laſt breath at Schwerin. His health had been declining for ſome time: in the beginning of the year 1576 he ſet out for Wittenburg, to confer with the magiſtracy of Lunenburg concerning the ſalt-trade to Wiſmar. On the fifth of January he returned; and on the tenth ſent a meſſenger to duke Ulric, to treat about the conſent of the provincial diet in the

preceding

preceding affair; but before the meſſenger returned, he was taken ſo ill that he almoſt loſt his ſpeech. On the twenty-fourth of January duke Ulric and his ducheſs came to ſee him at Schwerin; his ſpeech was then ſomewhat recovered, and he gave his brother to underſtand, he ſhould be glad to commit the guardianſhip of his children to his care; to which duke Ulric with ſome difficulty conſented: and on the thirtieth of January an inſtrument was drawn up for that purpoſe. On the firſt of February he ſeemed to be much better, upon which duke Ulric and his ducheſs returned to Guſtrow; on the tenth of February he relapſed, and a ſecond meſſenger having been diſpatched to duke Ulric by the privy-council, the duke returned to Schwerin, but found his brother had exchanged this life for a better, a few hours before his arrival. He was interred in the cathedral of Schwerin, where a Latin oration in his praiſe was pronounced by the learned Caſelius *, on the twelfth of February.

Duke

* The following epitaph was inſcribed on his tomb.

Inclyta Johannes Albertus gloria ſæcli
Conditur hic præſtans dux, patriæque pater.
Non fuit hoc melior princeps, nec doctior ævo,
Nec patriis terris qui bona plura dedit.
Illuſtrem verbi lucem, qua fidera adimus,
Primus hic in toto gente vigere jubet.
Idola evertit Latii pius impia Papæ,
Complectens certo dogmata recta libro.
Fortiaque arma capit ſociis cum Saxone & Heſſo,
Per quæ libertas, pax, pietaſque redit.
Chriſto cum Muſis hic primus in urbe Roſarum,
Inſtaurat, patriæ cor, oculumque ſcholam.
His etiam e terris fugiens Aſtræa retenta,
Anno dat quovis publica jura quater.
Rite ſuas dirimi cauſas eccleſia gaudet,
Non inſpectorum cura fidelis abeſt.
Clemens, munificus, verax, bonus, integer, æquus,
Sobrius, & verus religionis amans.
Regibus & ſummis tota meritiſque fideque
Carus in Europa, principibuſque viris.

His character.

DUKE John Albert was one of the worthieſt princes of his time, whether we conſider him in a private, or in a public capacity; he was truly religious and devout, of which he gave a ſtrong inſtance in his attention to the affairs of the church, in providing his people with good paſtors and inſtructors, and in his ſetting them an example in every branch of morality. He even wrote a religious treatiſe, entitled, *Meditatio de morte*, which is held in great eſteem by the beſt judges of thoſe ſubjects: he was a fond huſband, an indulgent father, and an affectionate brother. He was perhaps the moſt learned prince of his time, and as we have already obſerved, had acquired the name of *Doctus*, when but a ſtudent at Frankfort on the Oder, where he was honoured with the academical faſces. He wrote with equal eaſe in Latin or German, in proſe or verſe; he ſaid, he ſhould not leave a heap of gold to his children, but riches of a more valuable nature; the pure word of God, a good name, and a country well cultivated: the Proteſtant religion was indebted to him for its progreſs, the univerſity for its privileges, the ſchool of Schwerin for its foundation, and the nobility for the charter of their liberties: and indeed it is his higheſt encomium, that the whole conſtitution and ſyſtem of laws in the duchy of Mecklenburg, are chiefly owing to his care and encouragement: in particular this is to be obſerved of him, that he and his brother conſtantly attended the imperial diet, where he had ſeveral diſputes in regard to the article of precedency and vote, with the houſes of Pomerania, Heſſe, Baden, Juliers,

Ante Dei faciem nunc fulget ſideris inſtar,
Sicut in his terris fulſit imago Dei.
Grata cui tribuet meritas eccleſia laudes,
Verus & illuſtri luce vigebit honos.

A ſhorter Epitaph on the ſame prince was alſo written by the learned John Simonius.

Ille ego ſum pullus, qui dictus Martis & artis,
Et genus atque orbem dotibus orno meis.
Sub me religio, ſchola, templa, academia vitæ
Redduntur, Phæbus me duce clarus ovat.
Inclytus Ulricus me frater conſilio & re
Adjuvat, ingenio conſilioque Deus.

and

and Wurtemberg, which were in ſome meaſure compromiſed by the alternate precedency *. His motto was, *Perfer & Perſevera.*

His marriage and iſſue.

He was married at Wiſmar in 1555 to Anna Sophia, daughter of Albert, duke of Pruſſia and margrave of Brandenburg; his children by that princeſs, were 1. Albert VIII. who was born in 1557, but died in 1561 before his father; 2. duke John XI. born in 1558, who ſucceeded him in the government; and 3. duke Sigiſmund Auguſtus, who was born in 1560, and died in 1600: this prince had Strelitz and Ivenack for his appanage, with the commandery of Mirow, which was to devolve to him after the death of duke Charles. But when he arrived at years of maturity, he was diſſatisfied with this ſettlement, (as we ſhall ſee hereafter). He eſpouſed Clara Maria, daughter of Bogiſlaus, duke of Pomerania, but had no iſſue by her, and departed this life in 1600, when he was guardian to his nephew. The widow of duke John Albert was the fifth princeſs of the preſent houſe of Brandenburg, that married into the Mecklenburg family: ſhe had the town of Lupz for her dower, and died in 1591 †.

* Chemn. Heder. Chron. Suer. Weſtphal. Diplom. Seb. Bacmeiſter. Antiq. & Megap. Literat. Chytræus, Saxon, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck.

† Chemn. Bacmeiſt. Buckholtz, Beehr, Franck.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

DUKES of MECKLENBURG
From 1576 to 1592.

JOHN XI. and ULRIC II.
EMPEROR of GERMANY.
RODOLPH I. - - - 1576

QUEEN of ENGLAND.
ELIZABETH - - - 1558

Duke Ulric zealous for the advancement of learning. State of learning under duke Ulric. Account of the centuriators of Magdeburg. Duke John XI. under guardians. The king of Denmark pays a visit to Gustrow. Diet of Ratisbon. An alum mine discovered. Meeting of the Protestant divines at Bergen. New disputes with the city of Rostock. Duke Ulric mediator between the king of Denmark and Hamburg. The duke of Prussia refuses to satisfy the just claims of the widow of duke John Albert. System of the feudal laws of Mecklenburg. Duke Christopher marries the princess of Sweden. Dispute with the town of Wismar. Diet of Augsburg. Duke John comes to age. Duke John's administration. His death, marriage, and issue.

Duke Ulric zealous for the advancement of learning.

DUKE Ulric's zeal for the advancement of learning was not inferior to that of duke John Albert; he granted the same patronage to the literati in the district of Gustrow, as his brother had done in the capital of Schwerin. His ambition indeed was to rival duke John Albert in the encouragement of the arts and sciences, as well as in every other noble accomplishment. A taste for the polite arts is the mark which nature

has impreſſed on great ſouls; formed to aſpire to glory, they naturally cheriſh thoſe talents, which are requiſite for tranſmitting their names to poſterity; penetrated with the love of their own ſpecies, they muſt needs protect the ſciences, which alone are of general uſe to mankind; for their influence is not confined to the times and places in which they flouriſh; it is extended to every age and to every country, an advantage ſuperior to that of all other human actions. What benefit does the greateſt part of the globe derive from the conqueſts of Alexander and Cæſar, from the abilities of Mahomet, from the victories of Charlemagne, of the Harries and the Edwards, from the valour of the Black Prince, from the prudence of Rodolph of Habſburg, from the wiſdom of Henry VIII. or the artful policy of Charles V.? Of what advantage was the ambition of Philip II. to Germany, or the genius of a Richlieu to Spain? But the world will ever benefit by the diſcoveries of a Columbus, of a Bacon, a Galileo, or a Newton: in the frozen climes of the North, a Ruſſian or a Swede will feel himſelf animated with the reading of a Shakeſpear or a Milton; in France, their imaginations will be warmed with the beautiful lines of a Taſſo; and on the margin of the Thames the Engliſh will enjoy a ſtatue carved by Michael Angelo near Arno's ſilver ſtream, or a picture drawn by Raphael two centuries ago on the banks of the Tiber. Empires, triumphs, conqueſts, politics, are all loſt and ſunk in the dark and impenetrable abyſs of time; the arts alone ſurvive and extend their benign influence to the moſt diſtant periods, as well as to the remoteſt corners of the earth *.

Duke Ulric had been educated under Wolffgang Leopold, rector of the ſchool at Guſtrow, a perſon whom David Chytræus diſtinguiſhes by the honourable title of *elegantis & politi ingenii, doctrinæ ac induſtriæ virum*. Under ſo excellent a preceptor duke Ulric made a ſurpriſing progreſs, and was inferior to no prince in his time for his ſtrong attachment to the Muſes; he alſo took delight in theological ſtudies, and for his own pri-

* Revolut. de Literat. Tableau de l'Hiſt. Moderne.

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vate uſe compoſed a ſhort ſyſtem of divinity in the German tongue, extracted from the ſacred ſcriptures, and the fathers of the church; this learned lucubration was printed at Leipſick in 1595, in a ſmall octavo volume.

ACTUATED by the love of learning, this generous prince diſplayed his munificence in reſtoring the public ſchool of Guſtrow, which, before the Reformation, was almoſt gone to decay; he was ſenſible that without ſuch places of initiation for youth, neither the univerſity nor the church could be ſupplied with proper members, to ſupport the dignity of literary or eccleſiaſtical employments. With this view, he erected at his own expence, an elegant ſtructure, called The Dome School, from its vicinity to the great church of Guſtrow: the firſt rector or maſter of this ſchool was Wolffgang Leopold, a native of Freyberg, in Miſnia, who, as we have already obſerved had been formerly preceptor to duke Ulric: this learned man died of the plague in 1565, and was ſucceeded by Andreas Schopius, who had been invited hither from Roſtock in 1566. Schopius did not continue long in that poſt; but was choſen paſtor of Erleben in 1568, and at length raiſed to the dignity of ſuperintendant of Wernigerode. To him ſucceeded M. Johannes Frederus, a native of Hamburg, ſon of an eminent divine of the ſame name, but who was ſoon promoted to the profeſſorſhip of divinity at Roſtock. The next rector was M. Franciſcus Oemichius, ſon of Gerhard Oemichius, an eminent divine of the church of Guſtrow, and firſt ſuperintendant of that city, who diſcharged this laborious office twenty years, with great reputation to himſelf, and no leſs advantage to the education of the youth of that country. He publiſhed ſeveral valuable pieces, and among the reſt, the Embaſſy and Journey from Vienna to Conſtantinople, of the noble Lord, David Ungnaden, baron of Sonneck, at the command of his Imperial Majeſty in 1572. In this work there are ſeveral curious anecdotes relating to the antiquities of the countries through which that nobleman travelled.

DUKE Ulric's attention was not only directed to the advancement of the ſchool of Guſtrow, he had alſo in view, as a common

common father of his country, to promote the proſperity of the academy of Schwerin: for although by the partition between him and his brother duke John Albert, the diſtrict of Guſtrow only was fallen to his ſhare, yet as upon the deceaſe of the latter, he was entruſted with the guardianſhip of the young dukes his nephews, his attention was conſequently extended to the adminiſtration of their territories, and to the welfare of the dukedom of Schwerin. The advancement of learning and religion being always his firſt care, he thought proper in 1576, for reaſons well founded, and with the advice of the literati, and thoſe who were beſt acquainted with theſe matters, to unite the ſchool of Schwerin, erected or reſtored by his brother, with that of the Dome or Great Church, and to incorporate them into one academy. Bernardus Hedericus who publiſhed the Chronicon Suerinenſe, was nominated the firſt rector or maſter, with other aſſociates, on whom duke Ulric ſettled a genteel increaſe of ſalary.

But his principal object was the proſperity of the univerſity of Roſtock, which, after the example of his brother, duke John Albert, and his illuſtrious anceſtors, he looked upon as the brighteſt ornament of the duchy of Mecklenburg. Such was the encouragement he ever ſhewed to this renowned ſeat of the Baltic Muſes, that his memory has been ever ſince held in high veneration by that learned body; and upon his deceaſe in 1603, by order of the Concilium Academicum, annual orations were ordered to be pronounced in his praiſe, for the ſpace of twenty years, by the title of *Anniverſaria Ulricana*. To the favour and protection which he was proud of extending to this great mart of learning, Roſtock owed its moſt proſperous period, when not only ſtudents flocked thither from all parts of Germany, but even perſons of the higheſt birth, conſpicuous for dignity and titles, were ambitious, as we have elſewhere obſerved, of being honoured with the academical faſces.

State of learning under duke Ulric.

The number of learned perſons who flouriſhed during this period at the univerſity of Roſtock is ſo conſiderable, that it would exceed the bounds of this work, to enter into a particular

account of them, and their literary productions. We have indeed already taken notice of ſome of thoſe bright luminaries, ſuch as Chytræus and Caſelius, who ſtill continued to diffuſe the rays of their great erudition over this happy hemiſphere; but there ſtill remains one eminent writer who deſerves our particular notice.

This was the celebrated Magnus Pegelius, a native of Roſtock, and profeſſor of philoſophy at that univerſity; he was a man of very great ingenuity and parts, well verſed in the learned languages, and polite literature; but more eminent for his profound knowledge of nature, and extraordinary ſkill in mechanics. This ingenious perſon publiſhed a work in 1604, entitled, *Theſaurus rerum ſelectarum, magnarum, utilium, ſuavium, pro generis humani ſalute oblatus:* which was the firſt eſſay in the laſt century towards the improvement of natural philoſophy by the way of experiment. The learned Morhoffius takes notice of this very curious performance in the following terms: "The "author propoſes many inventions and devices of his own, in "moſt ſciences, but eſpecially in natural philoſophy, and the "liberal and mechanic arts; at the ſame time he invites the "learned of all countries to aſſiſt him in his undertaking, and "to join in defraying the expences neceſſary to carry his "ſchemes into execution. Among other things he offers a "plan to princes and magiſtrates of great towns, for maintaining "a certain number of learned men, whoſe province it ſhould be "to apply their thoughts to the ſtudy of uſeful inventions, and "to try their efficacy by repeated experiments: and he makes "no doubt but one ſingle perſon might be capable of diſco-"vering and executing, in a few days, and without ſtirring "from home, things of much greater utility to the public, "than was effected by thoſe three thouſand men, whom Alex-"ander the Great is ſaid to have ſent into diſtant countries, to "illuſtrate the hiſtory of animals, at the expence of four hun-"dred thouſand crowns. The author judges very right of "that undertaking, which neither deſerves the praiſes com-"monly beſtowed upon it; nor is the hiſtory which followed

"in conſequence, worthy of the expence. Thus in the midſt "of darkneſs there are men of genius, who perceive the light "from afar breaking through a cloud, but are hindered by "poverty and envy from ever enjoying its advantages." This remark of Morhoffius was owing to the bad encouragement or reception Pegelius's ſchemes met with from the public; for we find but few of them were carried into execution in his life-time: envy and hardneſs of belief proved as great enemies to this ingenious man, as to the generality of ſchemers and inventors.

AMONG the reſt of Pegelius's ſchemes, there are ſome which appear quite extravagant, ſuch as the *Navigium aëreum*, or, a veſſel to ſail through the air; with the *Chirurgia infuſoria*, the method of pouring all ſorts of liquors, and of all colours, out of one veſſel; the *Artificia Archimedæa*, for trying the goodneſs of all ſorts of liquors; the *Navigium ſubmarinum*, or veſſel for carrying people under water; the *Inſtrumentum pantographicum*; the wonderful art of memory; with ſeveral others of the like curious nature *.

BUT learning was not confined to the univerſity of Roſtock alone, there were ſeveral others in different parts of the country, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their literary abilities. Among the reſt, was one of duke Ulric's miniſters, the famous Erneſtus Cothmanus, a native of Lemgau in Weſtphalia. This ingenious perſon was a doctor of law, whoſe abilities recommended him to duke Ulric in ſuch a manner, that he advanced him to a judicial employment, where he diſcharged his duty with great honour and integrity. He publiſhed ſeveral pieces belonging to his profeſſion, which, for their elegance and good ſenſe, are much admired.

BUT none of the literati in Mecklenburg ſurpaſſed the celebrated Joachim de Luhe; this noble perſon was chamberlain and privy-counſellor to duke Ulric; in which offices he was conſpicuous for his politeneſs and genteel accompliſhments, as

* See Morhoffius in Polyhiſtor. vol. I. lib i. c. 2. & 20, & alibi paſſim.

well for the cultivation of the Muſes, and the patronage of the literati. His houſe was, as it were a Lycæum, open to all thoſe who delighted in the liberal arts, or were eminent in any branch of learning; numbers of elegant inſcriptions were to be ſeen in the different apartments, ſeveral of which Nathan Chytræus has collected in his *Itinerum deliciæ*. The church of Guſtrow had alſo the happineſs of being governed ſucceſſively under duke Ulric by three very learned ſuperintendants. Conradus Beckerus, doctor of divinity, preſided over this church with great reputation for piety and learning: he died in 1578, and was ſucceeded by Andreas Celichius who was eminent for his theological writings, and lived till the year 1599. To him ſucceeded Jacobus Colerus, doctor of divinity, a man of profound learning, who was invited from Berlin to ſuperintend the church of Guſtrow.

Account of the centuriators of Magdeburg.

In conſequence of the encouragement given to the arts and ſciences by the two very learned princes duke John Albert and his brother duke Ulric, men of letters flocked to Mecklenburg from all parts of Germany, as to an aſylum and ſecure place of retreat, where, in perfect tranquility and free from all diſturbance, they might cultivate their reſpective ſtudies. This was particularly the caſe of the celebrated authors of the Centuries of Magdeburg, who, finding themſelves diſtreſſed by the civil and religious quarrels in Saxony, fled hither for ſhelter, and peaceably attended to their learned lucubrations. The work ſo well known by the title of the Centuries of Magdeburg, is a body of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, which ſome Lutheran miniſters of Magdeburg began to publiſh in 1559 and 1560. Theſe miniſters were Matthias Flaccus, ſurnamed Illyricus, John Wigand, Matthew Judex, and Baſilius Faber, to whom ſome have added Nicholas Gellius, and others Andreas Corvinus. At leaſt it is certain, that the number was not confined to four, but that there were ſeven perſons, conſpicuous for abilities and learning, who employed their time in collecting materials, which were committed to the care of two eminent literati, in order to digeſt them; after which they paſſed through other hands, whoſe appro-

approbation was neceſſary, before they began to compoſe; and the compoſition itſelf was alſo reviſed. This we learn from the preface to the work, which was continued to the thirteenth century; each century contains every remarkable tranſaction in the church during that period, and is divided into ſixteen chapters; the whole compilement is a work of accuracy and immenſe labour: as the aim of thoſe authors was to attack the church of Rome, and to defend the Reformation, cardinal Baronius undertook his famous work of the Annals of the Church, in oppoſition to the centuriators.

THESE learned men publiſhed their work ſucceſſively in ſeparate volumes, which they dedicated to different princes; the ſecond century in particular was inſcribed, in 1559, to the dukes John Albert and Ulric. This dedication is ſigned by Matthias Flaccus, Johannes Wigandus, Matthæus Judex, and Baſilius Faber. The work met with very great approbation in this country, particularly in Wiſmar where it was publiſhed, and where Wigand was choſen ſuperintendant in 1562: its being publiſhed at Wiſmar was owing to the diſputes of the Adiaphoriſts * in Saxony, which obliged Flaccus and Wigandus to withdraw from that country.

IN the year 1562 Wigand was invited to the ſuperintendency of Wiſmar, where he reſided ſeven years, and in 1563 was created doctor of divinity at Roſtock; hence it is, that in the firſt edition of the latter Centuries of Magdeburg, it is mentioned, that they were compiled at Wiſmar in the duchy of Mecklenburg.

* The name of Adiaphoriſts was given in the ſixteenth century, to the moderate Lutherans, who followed the opinions of Melancthon they were otherwiſe called Semi-Lutherans. After the year 1548 thoſe who ſubſcribed the *Interim*, publiſhed at the diet of Augſburg by Charles the Fifth, were ſtiled *Adiaphoriſts*; this appellation which ſignifies *Indifferent*, is rather a term of contumely than any diſtinction of ſect. The zealots gave the name of *Indifferents* to all thoſe who behaved with moderation during the religious diſputes of thoſe days, which they imputed to an indifference or diſregard to all religion. Flaccus and Wigandus oppoſed the Adiaphoriſts, who were too powerful and obliged them to quit Saxony: the Adiaphoriſts differed alſo from the other Lutherans, in admitting *liberum arbitrium*, or free will.

Since

Since therefore the greateſt part of this celebrated work was compoſed and publiſhed in this country, in ſtrict propriety it ought to be intitled, *Centuriæ Mecklenburgenſes* or *Wiſmarienſes*, rather than *Magdeburgenſes*. For under the patronage and protection of the ſovereigns of this country, who generouſly granted a ſafe and honourable aſylum, with a decent ſupport to the authors*, was that great and very learned performance uſhered into the world, which could not have been exhibited to the public in Saxony, becauſe of the quarrels and inteſtine broils in which that country was ſo unhappily involved. The four firſt Centuries were printed in Magdeburg; part of the fifth in Magdeburg, and part in Jena, in 1562; the ſixth was publiſhed by Flaccus, Wigandus, and Judex, alſo in 1562, during their exile. After they had found ſhelter and kind reception in Mecklenburg, they printed the ſeventh Century, where, in the very title page of the firſt edition, notice is taken, that the work was compoſed in Mecklenburg; *in ducatu illuſtriſſimorum principum & ducum Megapolenſium, in civitate Wiſmariæ per authores contexta.* Thus ſeven centuries were written in Mecklenburg, and only four in Magdeburg: the whole work was dedicated by Wigandus to his generous and munificent patron duke Ulric in the following words; *Illuſtriſſimo principi ac domino Ulrico duci Megapolenſi, principi Henetorum, comiti Suerinenſi, domino in Roſtock & Stargard, domino ſuo clementiſſimo Wigandus humiliter offert.* Here we ſhall conclude our view of the reſurrection and advancement of literature in this country during the ſixteenth century; whence it will appear, that Mecklenburg did not yield the palm to other ſtates and provinces, in the cultivation of the liberal arts and ſciences, and that the Muſes ſtill preſerved their genial vigour and warmth, though tranſplanted to the frozen banks of the Baltick. But it is time now to reſume our account of the public tranſactions.

1576. Duke John XI. under guardians.

Duke John the XI. being left a minor, his uncle duke Ulric undertook the adminiſtration, as guardian to the young princes. Duke Chriſtopher was ſo offended, that his brother John Albert left him out of the guardianſhip, that when he came to Schwerin

* He granted them a houſe and maintenance at Wiſmar.

two

two days after that prince's death, he would not repair to the palace, but ſet up at an inn, whither duke Ulric went and dined with him. The diſpleaſure duke Chriſtopher conceived was ſo great, that he put in his claim for his ſhare of the dominions of Mecklenburg; this he reckoned to be one fourth, and appealed to the imperial court for a redreſs. In regard to his renunciation, he ſaid it had been made when he was very young and ignorant; that it had been in a manner extorted from him; and laſtly, that it was upon condition of his keeping peaceable poſſeſſion of Riga: however, he committed no act of violence, but only ſaid, he quietly demanded his right, which ſhould be decided by law: the ſuit was ſpun out as uſual to a very great length, and he died during the proceſs. Duke Ulric defended the young prince his pupil with great ſpirit and affection.

The electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, having been nominated joint guardians to the young princes, appointed each of them two ſenators at Schwerin, to conſult the advantage and intereſt of their pupils: the names of thoſe ſenators were, for Saxony, John of Lindenow and Vitus Winſheim; for the elector of Brandenburg, Joachim of Barſtedt, and Henry Goldbeck. But the principal burthen fell upon duke Ulric: his firſt attention was to retrench all uſeleſs expences in the government, and to eſtabliſh ſuch an oeconomy, as might reduce the great load of debts contracted by his late brother. Among other things he ſuppreſſed the ſchool of Schwerin, and ordered the youths to frequent the ſchool of the cathedral church, over which he appointed Bernard Hederic firſt maſter. Deſirous of giving the beſt education poſſible to his pupils, he ſent duke John to Leipſick, in order to perform his ſtudies at that univerſity; appointing Joachim of Baſſewitz his governor, and Hiob of Magdeburg his preceptor. He ſent Sigiſmund Auguſtus, his ſecond nephew, to Dreſden, in order to be educated in a private manner *.

* Bacmeiſt. Latom. Chemn. Beehr, Kluver, Franck.

The

The king of Denmark pays a visit to Gustrow.

The island of Bornholme having been restored about this time by the Lubeckers, to Frederick II. king of Denmark, this prince went to examine into the state of the fortifications; from thence he crossed over to the continent, in order to pay a visit to duke Ulric his father-in-law, and to the duchess Elizabeth his aunt and mother-in-law. On Trinity Sunday he landed at Rostock, in company with the queen consort; here he was most kindly received by duke Ulric and his brothers Christopher and Charles, who conducted him with great pomp to Gustrow: during his stay in this city, there was a meeting of several princes, and among the rest, Augustus, elector of Saxony. To this meeting, it was owing, that duke Ulric could not assist at the
1576. imperial diet held that year at Ratisbon; but he sent deputies in his own name, and in behalf of his nephews, Joachim Moller and John Bouck, doctors of law: during the sitting of that assembly they obtained a confirmation of the final agreement of 1573, between the dukes of Mecklenburg and the city of Rostock *.

1577. Diet of Ratisbon.

A subsidy from the princes of the empire having been voted at the diet of Ratisbon against the Turks, duke Ulric summoned the states of Mecklenburg to meet at Schwerin, in order to settle their contingent towards the defence of the empire. Here also debates were held with regard to the means of paying duke John Albert's debts; which indeed seems to have been duke Ulric's principal motive for convoking that assembly: the states agreed to his demands for the young princes, and for the imperial contingent. That same year a mine of allum was discovered between the town of Grabow, and the prefecture of Eldena: it produced great profits till the thirty years war, when the works were destroyed; and though an attempt was afterwards made to restore them, it does not seem to have been effectual.

An allum mine discovered.

Meeting of Protestant divines at Bergen.

The same year a meeting of divines was held at the monastery of Bergen, in the bishopric of Magdeburg, to finish the great work that had been begun the preceding year at the synod or assembly of Torgaw, for quieting the disturbances

* Behr. Franck. Pontan.

among

among the divines of the Confeſſion of Augſburg. Theſe diſputes broke out at Wittenberg, where ſome of the diſciples of Melancthon were for reconciling the Helvetic divines with thoſe of the Confeſſion of Augſburg: Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, ordered a meeting of theologians at Torgaw, to compoſe thoſe differences; and here the firſt foundations were laid of the famous *Formula Concordiæ*. David Chytræus was the perſon that appeared at this aſſembly on the behalf of the dukes of Mecklenburg. Here the *Formula* was examined and reviſed, and in the year 1580 it was publiſhed by authority.

1578. New diſputes with the city of Roſtock.

THE enſuing year was held a convocation or diet at Wiſmar, for ſettling the affairs relating to the guardianſhip of the young princes: another was ſoon after ſummoned at Guſtrow, for compoſing the differences lately revived between the dukes of Mecklenburg and the city of Roſtock. The electors of Saxony and Brandenburg ſent their deputies to this aſſembly, as guardians to the young princes: the commonalty of Roſtock paying but little regard to duke Ulric on account of his great age, and to duke John on account of his youth, pretended they were not bound by the late hereditary compact, and that it was obligatory only with regard to the ſenate; Duke Ulric gave them notice that he expected they would punctually conform to an agreement which was their own act and deed, and had been moreover confirmed by the late emperor Maximilian. The Roſtockers ſent their deputies to the aſſembly; after many tedious debates the affair was referred to arbitrators on both ſides, and their award was to be ſubmitted to the imperial chamber.

1579. D. Ulric is mediator between the king of Denmark and Hamburg.

ABOUT this time duke Ulric received from the emperor Rudolph the inveſtiture of the dominions of Mecklenburg for himſelf and his young pupils, as alſo for his brothers Chriſtopher and Charles. Soon after he interpoſed in a very warm diſpute between Frederic II. king of Denmark, and the city of Hamburg. The Hamburghers pretended to have a right of reſtraining and prohibiting the exportation of corn in the river Elbe. The king of Denmark denied they had any ſuch right; and the affair was for ſome time debated before the aulic coun-

cil. But this year Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, and duke Ulric of Mecklenburg, father-in-law to king Frederic, having offered their mediation, the affair was compromiſed at Flenſburg, by its being agreed that the Hamburghers ſhould promiſe to pay a hundred thouſand crowns to king Frederic, and that the exportation of corn ſhould be free to all the ſubjects of Denmark, till the cauſe was decided. Another meeting was afterwards held at the Kiel in 1580, to ſettle the ſame point, and it was again ſubmitted to the arbitration of the elector of Saxony, and duke Ulric. But they broke up after rather palliating than healing the evil.

The duke of Pruſſia refuſes to ſatisfy the juſt demands of the widow of D. J. Albert.

DUKE Ulric was not more ſucceſsful in endeavouring to ſettle the affairs of the widow of his brother, Duke John Albert, with regard to her claims on the duke of Pruſſia. As daughter to the late duke of that country, ſhe had pretenſions to the perſonal eſtate of her father and mother. We have elſewhere mentioned that the duke her father, had by his will left to duke John Albert of Mecklenburg, and his wife, beſides her dower, 100,000 florins; and had alſo bequeathed the bailiwicks of Marienwerden and Gardenſee to her ſons, the two young princes John and Sigiſmund Auguſtus. But notwithſtanding duke Ulric had taken great pains to recover his ſiſter-in-law's juſt demands, he was diſappointed in his aim; for neither that princeſs, nor her late huſband, had been upon good terms with her half-brother, duke Albert Frederic, or rather with his guardian, margrave George Frederic of Brandenburg Anſpach.

Syſtem of the feudal laws of Mecklenburg.

ABOUT this time duke Ulric cauſed the chancellor Huſan to draw up a ſyſtem of the feudal laws of Mecklenburg. This is a work of great learning, but was never introduced as a ſyſtem of laws, the nobility having found it liable to many exceptions *.

1582. D. Chriſtopher marries the princeſs of Sweden.

THIS year duke Chriſtopher went over to Stockholm, in order to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth, youngeſt ſiſter of John III. king of Sweden. The nuptials were celebrated in that capital

* In the firſt and ſecond collection of Gerdes, the reader will find a farther account of it.

with

with great ſolemnity on the ſeventh of May; the ſame year the bride and bridegroom, with an eſcort of fifteen men of war, and attended by the chief ſenators in the kingdom, ſet ſail from Sweden, and landed at Wiſmar. They were received by the citizens under arms, and by the dukes Francis and Maurice of Saxony, as alſo by the deputies of the neighbouring towns. After a few days repoſe, duke Chriſtopher conducted his ſpouſe to Gadebuſch, the revenue of which diſtrict, together with that of Tempzin, he ſettled upon her as a dower, with the conſent of duke Ulric.

Soon after this tranſaction a conteſt aroſe between the dukes of Mecklenburg, and the town of Wiſmar, with regard to juriſdiction. The magiſtrates of that place pretended to judge in the laſt reſort all cauſes, as well within the town as in the adjacent diſtrict; neither would they admit of any appeals from their tribunals to the dukes of Mecklenburg. Duke Ulric apprehending leſt this pretenſion of juriſdiction might be the means of that city's withdrawing itſelf from all ſubjection to himſelf and his young pupils, reſolved to aſſert his authority. After ſome warm debates an agreement was entered into with the town of Wiſmar, in the name of duke Ulric and his pupils, and with the conſent of the joint guardians, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, that out of reſpect to the moſt ſerene dukes of Mecklenburg, appeals ſhould be henceforwards allowed, either to the dukes or to the city of Lubec, without prejudice however to the rights and privileges of Wiſmar. The agreement was confirmed by the emperor Rudolph, and publiſhed by duke Ulric.

Diſpute with the town of Wiſmar.

The year following, an imperial diet was held at Augſburg. The emperor endeavoured to perſuade the ſtates to join with him againſt the Flemings, who had lately expelled their governor, his brother, the archduke Matthias: but the princes of Germany did not think proper to intermeddle in this quarrel, which particularly concerned the houſe of Auſtria. The Gregorian reformation of the calendar was likewiſe propoſed at this aſſembly; but the pope having preſſed it with an air of autho-

1582. Diet of Augſburg.

rity, this occaſioned its not being then admitted. The catholics, however, adopted it two years after; but it was long before the proteſtant ſtates could be perſuaded to follow their example. To ſuch a degree had religious quarrels ſoured the minds of people in thoſe days, that even the wiſeſt regulations were rejected, merely becauſe they had been deviſed by thoſe of an oppoſite perſuaſion.

1585. Duke John comes to age.

NOT long after the holding of this aſſembly, duke John came to age, when his uncle, duke Ulric, reſigned into his hands the adminiſtration of that part of the dominions of Mecklenburg, which properly belonged to the elder branch. Scarce had duke John aſſumed the reins of government, when a diſpute aroſe between him and his brother duke Sigiſmund Auguſtus, the latter claiming a ſhare of his father's inheritance. The conteſt however was ſettled by the mediation of duke Ulric and duke Adolphus of Holſtein. An agreement was entered into at Schwerin, between duke John and his brother, that the former ſhould have the ſole government in the Schwerin diviſion, but that the latter ſhould have the poſſeſſion of Strelitz, Mirow, and Ivenack. It was with ſome difficulty that duke Sigiſmund Auguſtus could be perſuaded to come into this agreement, notwithſtanding its advantages. Whether it was that he did not think it adequate to his juſt demands, or for what other reaſon, we cannot determine. With regard to the commandery of Mirow, he did not take actual poſſeſſion of it till duke Charles came to be biſhop of Ratzburg: but a moiety of the revenue was, during this interval, paid to him in ſpecie; and his being diſappointed of the whole might be the cauſe why he diſliked the agreement.

1586.

Duke John's adminiſtration.

THIS affair having been ſettled to his ſatisfaction, Duke John devoted himſelf entirely to the cares of government. By his education he had been properly initiated into this ſtudy, eſpecially during his reſidence at the univerſity of Leipſick. Having made ſufficient improvements in the theoretical part of this ſcience, he entered upon the practice under the moſt pro-

* Kluver.

miſing

miſing expectations. During the ſhort period of his reign he anſwered the hopes of his people, and made it his chief ſtudy to promote their felicity. Duke Ulric aſſiſted him in the adminiſtration, and was his preceptor and model. The city of Schwerin in particular enjoyed his good graces; for in 1587 he confirmed the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of the rights of the chace; and in 1590 he ratified all their privileges *. But at the very time, when his ſubjects flattered themſelves with the hopes of enjoying a long ſeries of felicity under the mild government of this prince, he was ſeized with an hypochondriac diſorder, or a debility of mind and body which carried him off in the flower of life. He had been to pay a viſit to his brother Duke Sigiſmund, who reſided at Ivenack, and came back to Stargard, on the eighth of March 1592, ſeemingly in good health; but immediately after his return, he received a letter from duke Charles giving him advice of the death of duke Chriſtopher, which happened on the fourth of March. This fatal intelligence made ſuch a deep impreſſion on the mind of duke John, who had a tender affection for his uncle, that his hypochondriac diſorder was ſoon worked up to a moſt violent pitch, and he attempted to deſtroy himſelf; which he certainly would have effected, had he not been with-held by thoſe who attended his perſon; yet they could not prevent his giving himſelf in the dead of the night a dangerous wound. The ducheſs Sophia, his loving conſort, took all imaginable pains to ſave his life with the aſſiſtance of ſkilful ſurgeons; but the wound being judged mortal, they ſent for Mr. Vitus Schirmeiſter, the court preacher, who gave him ſpiritual comfort, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to him. Shortly after he recovered his underſtanding, but his bodily weakneſs increaſed to ſuch a degree as quite overcame him, and he departed this life on the twenty-ſecond of March 1592, in the preſence of his brother duke Sigiſmund, to the unſpeakable grief of all his good ſubjects. He was interred in the cathedral of Schwerin, on the 27th of April, two

1587.

1590.

He is ſeized with an hypochondriac diſorder.

Death of D. John.

* See the documents in Weſtphal's Diploma.

days after the funeral of his uncle Chriſtopher; and a Latin oration was pronounced on that melancholy occaſion by David Chytræus *.

His marriage and iſſue.

Duke John had eſpouſed in 1585, the princeſs Sophia, daughter of Adolph, duke of Holſtein: by her he had two princes, Adolph Frederic I. and John Albert II. who ſucceeded him in his dominions; and one princeſs, Anna Sophia, born in 1590, who died in 1648, abbeſs of Rhunen. His widow, who had borne a great deal of affliction during his illneſs, ſurvived alſo the misfortunes of her ſons, of which we ſhall treat in the enſuing book, and died in the year 1634 †.

* The following epitaph on duke John, was written by Johannes Simonius.

Alberti Jano patri ſuccedo; geroque
Faſces juſtitia, religione, fide.
Patruus Udalricus amat me, et Carolus, orbis
Deliciæ: frater me Sigiſmundus amat.
Pruſſica me genuit patri Dux Anna Sophia,
Exequias triſtis cui paro: moxque ſequor.

† Bac. Chem. Lat. Buck. Hederich, Chytræus, Mylius, Spener, Hubner, Beehr, Franck.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

DUKES of MECKLENBURG.
From 1592 to 1658.

ADOLPH FREDERIC I. and
JOHN ALBERT II.

EMPERORS of GERMANY.

RODOLPH II. - - -	1576
MATTHIAS - - - -	1612
FERDINAND II. - -	1619
FERDINAND III. - -	1637
LEOPOLD - - - -	1658

KINGS of ENGLAND.

ELIZABETH - - -	1558
JAMES I. - - - -	1603
CHARLES I. - - -	1625
CHARLES II. - - -	1649

The young princes under guardians. Death and character of duke Sigiſmund Auguſtus, and of duke Ulric. Duke Ulric's marriages and iſſue. Duke Charles adminiſters as guardian. Education of the young princes. They come of age. Death of duke Charles. Joint government of the two brothers. Partition and agreement of Fahrenholtz. Lines of Schwerin and Guſtrow. Two diſtinct regencies in Mecklenburg. Inconveniencies from ſetting aſide the will of duke John Albert. The ſtates prevent a total ſeparation; and obtain the act of ſecurity of 1621. *Manner of obtaining this act. Duke John Albert* II. *embraces Calviniſm. The two dukes cultivate peace with all their neighbours.*

1592. The young princes under guardians.

AT the death of duke John, his two ſurviving ſons were of too tender an age to hold the reins of government: for the elder brother, duke Adolph Frederick I. was born in 1588; and the younger, duke John Albert II. in 1590. Such being the

the ſituation of theſe young princes, their great uncle duke Ulric, and their father's brother, duke Sigiſmund Auguſtus, were obliged to take them under their tutelage. This important truſt they diſcharged with the utmoſt fidelity and care, giving ſuch an education to the two young princes as was entirely ſuitable to their rank and quality. During their regency the chief public act they performed, was the viſitation of the univerſity of Roſtock, in 1599. The intent of this enquiry was to ſilence the diſputes between the academical ſenate and the magiſtrates of Roſtock. For this end duke Ulric publiſhed a decree which had no effect, and the cauſe was at length brought before the aulic council *.

Death and character of duke Sigiſmund Auguſtus. 1600.

Soon after this tranſaction the two guardians of the young princes departed this life; duke Sigiſmund Auguſtus in 1600, and duke Ulric II. in 1603. With regard to the former, we have little more to add towards finiſhing his character: his diſpoſition to eaſe and quiet was the cauſe of his concerning himſelf but very little in public affairs; and during the laſt minority he entruſted every thing to the management of duke Ulric. He had a general benevolence for mankind, and in all his actions he moſt ſtrictly adhered to the rules of equity and juſtice. Hence it was his ſtanding maxim: *I will injure no man; neither will I ſuffer any man to injure me.* As he happened one day to behold his ſteward driving away the cattle of a poor peaſant, who had omitted to perform ſome kind of duty or ſervice; *Have a care*, ſaid he, *what you do; for if you take away that man's oxen, I ſhall order you to be put to the plough* †.

Death and character of D. Ulric II.

Duke Ulric II. during his long adminiſtration conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner as gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to the people, and endeared his name to poſterity. Such was his conſummate experience in public affairs, that he bore the honourable title of the Neſtor of Germany: of his learning we have ſpoken elſewhere ‡; and of his political abilities we have

* Bacm. Chemn. Beehr, Buckholtz.
† Bacm. Chemn. Latom. Sturz di Sigiſm. Aug. Buckholtz.
‡ See p.

given

given many inſtances; and for his military talents we muſt here mention that he had been appointed *Supremus belli dux*, by the Circle of Lower Saxony. But of all the princes of Mecklenburg his memory is the moſt revered, for the many regulations of immenſe utility to the public, in which he was principally concerned. He had made ſeveral eſtabliſhments in conjunction with his brother, and given force and activity to ſuch laws as were enacted for the public good. The privileges of the nobility and ſtates had, before his time, been altogether indeterminate and uncertain, but by him were confirmed and ſettled. In former reigns thoſe privileges were unſupported by proper grants or authentic conceſſions; but under his adminiſtration they received their full authenticity and vigour by the agreement of Wiſmar, as well as by other conventions, and the Reverſales, for all which his faithful ſubjects could never return him a ſufficient tribute of thanks. But though he took a ſingular ſatisfaction in diſplaying his humanity and benevolence, he was firm and ſteady in maintaining his own rights and prerogatives; which he effected rather by gentle methods, than by acts of violence. The diſputes he had entered into with his brother, the ſecuring of the freedom and privileges of the ſtates, his conduct during the diſturbances of the town of Roſtock, and his adminiſtration in quality of guardian to his nephews, will amply juſtify every part of the preceding character *.

He

* This prince lies interred in the Great Church, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory. It is ſeventeen feet high, and twenty-ſeven in breadth; the body of black marble. The pane is divided into two compartments, by two columns of red marble. The cornice is ſupported by two pilaſters of white marble, with *termini* in the Ionic order. On the baſe are three ſtatues, at full length, kneeling on cuſhions of white marble. The firſt ſtatue is that of duke Ulrick in armour, and bare-headed, with the arms of Mecklenburg engraved, and this plain inſcription, "Ulric duke of Mecklenburg." The ſecond is that of Elizabeth his firſt wife, in the ancient Teutonic dreſs, kneeling upon a cuſhion of white marble; the third is the ſtatue of Anne, his ſecond wife, alſo kneeling in an ancient Teutonic dreſs. The ſtatues are of exquiſite workmanſhip; and the whole monument was repaired and beautified in 1709.

The following epitaph on this prince's tomb was written by John Simonius.

Me rex Danus avum: rex Scotus, Saxoque & Anglus,
Guelphus & Holſatus proſocerum indigitant.

His marriages and iſſue.

He had been married in 1556 to Elizabeth daughter of Frederic I. king of Denmark; but this princeſs dying in 1586, he eſpouſed a ſecond wife in 1588, namely Anne, the daughter of Philip-

Jura, ſcholas vidi florere & relligionem:
Me Cæſar magni fecit & imperium.
Gloria ſumma! ſed hæc mea gloria maxima, Chriſtum
Quod colui, in vera quod moriorque fide.

But Johannes Andreas wrote a longer encomium on this prince in verſe, which we think not unworthy of the reader's peruſal,

Occidit Ulricus princeps clariſſimus, inter
Magnates, totus quotquot hic orbis habet.
Ulricus patriæ pater & Germanicus Atlas,
Eloquio Neſtor, conſilioque gravis.
Occidit Ulricus, noſtri prudentia ſæcli,
Auguſtum ſidus, dux, oculuſque nitens.
Relligionis amans, juſti ſervator & æqui,
Cæſaribus ſidus Marte togaque ſacris.
Florebant muſæ patriis hoc principe terris,
Pax, pietas, Chriſti nomen & alma Themis.
Preterita ignorant, avide præſentia poſcunt,
Vixque ferent talem ſæcla futura ducem.
Gens Obetritarum luget, dolet aurea conjux,
Dux Megapoleos, flos Pomeraneidum
Percharum fratrem deplorat Carolus heros,
Et Sophia imprimis regia nata patrem.
Quin Rex ipſe madet totus cum fratre dolenter,
Ultima quos Thule, trux Boreaſque colunt.
Quique Caledoniæ rex nunc felicíter oræ
Præſidet, eximia fletque doletque fide.
Neptulaque et pronepos de vero corde gementes
Candida perpetuis fletibus ora rigant.
Septemvir lachrymas cum Saxone marchio fundunt,
Principi Brunſvigi compatiente ſoli:
Cimbricus aſſiduo queſtu jam perſonat Iſthmus,
Et Pomeranorum regia culta ducum.
Curlandi heroes ſuſpiria producentes,
Matris adhuc recolunt ultima fata ſuæ.
Omnibus eſt magni juſtiſſima cauſa doloris,
Flereque ſincerus ſanguis amorque jubent.
Nam celebris princeps, conjux, fraterque paterque,
Conditus hic ávus eſt, hic proavuſque bonus.
At patruus præſtans, inſignis avunculus, urna
Et magnus ſancte conditus hac ſocer eſt.

Sed

Philip duke of Pomerania. By neither of his conſorts had he any male iſſue; but by the former he had the princeſs Sophia, who was born in 1557, married to Frederic II. king of Denmark, and died in 1631. He had the happineſs however of conſidering the whole nation as his children, and they had reaſon to look upon him as their common father, from his attention to their welfare, and from the extraordinary wiſdom of his long and peaceable adminiſtration †.

DUKE Ulric dying without iſſue male, his ſhare or portion of the country fell to his brother duke Charles I. at that time biſhop of Ratzeburg. This prelate happening alſo to die without iſſue, the whole inheritance devolved to the two young princes, duke Adolph Frederick I. and duke John Albert II. Duke Ulric had already preferred his grandſon, prince Ulric of Denmark, ſon of king Frederic II. and of his daughter Sophia, to the biſhopric of Schwerin, adopting him for his coadjutor; After duke Ulric's deceaſe his grandſon had the ſole poſſeſſion of it, and held it till his death in 1624 *.

Duke Charles adminiſters as guardian.

THE only perſon now remaining of the moſt ſerene houſe of Mecklenburg, capable of diſcharging the office of guardian, was the old duke Charles, biſhop of Ratzeburg. This prince, who then reſided at Schonberg, was therefore drawn from his retreat, and obliged to ſteer the helm. He ſtill kept poſſeſſion of his biſhopric, but removed his reſidence to Guſtrow, and received the homage of the city of Roſtock. In this he acted as ſucceſſor to his brother, duke Ulric, in the partition of Guſtrow,

Sed ſatis indultum lachrymis: veneranda ſepulchro
Oſſa cubant: cæli ſpiritus aſtra tenet.
O manes ſalvete pii! Vos dextra Jehovæ
Splendentiſque beant lucida templa poli.
Redde patri memores grandævo patria laudes,
Noſtraque conſervet tecta precare Deum.
Carolus ut nobis præſit feliciter opta,
Et teneri videant tempora læta duces.
Floribus aſpergant arctam bene olentibus urnam
Religio, pietas, pax ſacra, muſa, Themis.

† Bacm. Weſtphal. Bukholtz. Franck. Simon de Vita D. Ulric. Lobich Orat. de D. Ulrico. * Ibid.

which had belonged to that prince; a ſtep which, though not agreeable to the teſtamentary ſettlement of duke John Albert I. yet was conformable to the ancient cuſtom of the ducal family. Beſides, whatever may be ſaid concerning his right, ſuch a meaſure could be no way prejudicial to the princes; ſince duke Charles had neither wife nor children, and conſequently his whole fortune muſt at his deceaſe have devolved to his nephews. In every other reſpect he ſhewed himſelf an excellent guardian, taking the utmoſt care of his pupils, and adminiſtering the moſt impartial juſtice to the people of Mecklenburg. The young princes were ſent to perform their ſtudies at Leipſick, where they made a conſiderable progreſs in the different
1605. branches of literature. Duke Adolph Frederick diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner in his public exerciſes before that learned body, that in 1605 he was appointed rector of the univerſity. This office he diſcharged with applauſe; but the more laborious part of it was executed by a pro-rector. The elevation of this prince to the rectorſhip of Leipſick, is a plain indication of the high eſteem in which he was held for his proficiency in learning. The academical ſenate thinking it too inconſiderable a reward for a prince who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a member of their body to honour him with a doctor's cap, agreed to confer on him the higheſt dignity in the univerſity. During his rectorſhip, two remarkable orations, concerning the ſerene family were pronounced before that learned body, namely one by M. Weinrich, entitled, *Idea boni principis, encomio ducum Megapolitanorum illuſtrata*; and the other by M. Witth, *de Antiquitate gentis Henetæ* *.

Education of the young princes.

1608. The dukes come of age.

THE young princes being now come to age, duke Charles, having faithfully diſcharged his truſt, reſigned the adminiſtration into their hands. The ſame year he concluded an hereditary compact with the two brothers, by which it was ſtipulated that upon his deceaſe the diſtricts of Guſtrow and Schwerin ſhould be equally divided between them. Another agreement was alſo entered into the ſame year, viz. that during

* Kluver. Bacm Chemn. Hubner, Spener. Nettlebladt.

the

the life of duke Charles, duke Adolph Frederic ſhould be poſſeſſed of the whole regency of Schwerin, without interfering however with that of Guſtrow; and on the other hand duke John Albert ſhould have the bailiwick of Gadebuſch and Tempzin, with a yearly penſion of ſixteen hundred florins. Not long after this regulation the old duke departed this life, after diſplaying in his advanced age a capacity for public affairs, from which he had always ſhewn an averſion in the earlier part of life †.

1610. Death of duke Charles.

AFTER the deceaſe of their old uncle, the two young princes ſucceeded to his part of the dominions of Mecklenburg, namely to the partition of Guſtrow. In conſequence of the hereditary compact, the equal diſtribution of Schwerin and Guſtrow was immediately to take place; but ſome difficulties ariſing they entered into a proviſional agreement; in virtue of which they governed the whole country of Mecklenburg by a joint adminiſtration. During this part of their reign, they had ſome diſputes with duke Auguſtus of Brunſwick Lunenburg, with regard to the ſee of Ratzeburg: theſe were owing to the diviſions of the dean and chapter; part of whom had choſen for their biſhop duke Auguſtus of Brunſwick, and another part duke John Albert. The conteſt was carried on with ſome warmth till 1613, when the contending princes came to an accommodation, by which duke Auguſtus kept poſſeſſion of the biſhopric, and duke John Albert was appointed coadjutor, with a clauſe that the biſhops of that ſee ſhould be alternately elected out of both houſes ‡.

Joint government of the two brothers. 1610.

DURING this diſpute with duke Auguſtus the two brothers, in order to prevent all future altercations, were inclined to make a total partition of their dominions. But as this might at that time have been attended with difficulty, and would have been conſidered in ſome meaſure as a revolution in the conſtitution of the country, they entered into a compact of inheritance at Fahrenholtz in 1611. By virtue of this agreement duke Adolph

1611. Partition, and agreement of Fahrenholtz.

† Bacm. Chem. Lat. Buckh. Thomas Annal. Guſtr.

‡ Bacm. Chemn. Buckh. Chron. Ratzeb.

Frederic I. took poſſeſſion of the duchy of Mecklenburg, of the greateſt part of the county of Schwerin, and of nearly a moiety of the principality of Wenden. Duke John Albert II. had the other half of the principality of Wenden, the entire lordſhips of Roſtock and Stargard, together with the town of Boitzenburg, belonging to the county of Schwerin. The nobility however, and the cities of Roſtock and Wiſmar, with all other concerns relating to the whole duchy of Mecklenburg, continued under a joint government. Thus the country was divided pretty equally between the two brothers; and now began two diſtinct lines, that of Schwerin in the perſon of duke Adolph Frederick I. and that of Guſtrow in duke John Albert II. the latter of which became extinct in the ſecond generation.

Lines of Schwerin and Guſtrow.

Two diſtinct regencies in Mecklenburg.

In conſequence of this agreement there now aroſe two regencies, though the government, as hath been already obſerved, continued in ſome public affairs undivided. Thus the cities of Roſtock and Wiſmar, the univerſities, the chief courts of juſtice, the conſiſtory, the provincial treaſury, and the contributions to the province, circle, and empire, were ſubject to a joint adminiſtration. In other reſpects both regencies were intirely diſtinct, ſeparate courts being held to ſuperintend the finances, and particular concerns of the country. A total partition the two princes looked upon as a meaſure which they were at liberty afterwards to adopt or omit, according as they ſhould find it convenient; and the privy council of thoſe princes, as well as the ſtates themſelves, had no other idea of the matter, ſince there was no fundamental law by which it had been abſolutely prohibited. But as the ſtates perceived that this partition would not be conducive or advantageous to their act of union, they were the cauſe of its being deferred ſo long till it fell to the ground. The privy council in a great meaſure ſided with the ſtates, as appears from the conſiderations which, in 1612, they delivered to duke John Albert.

Had the will of duke John Albert I. been obſerved, and due attention paid to the right of primogeniture, as eſtabliſhed in that ſettlement, there would have been no occaſion for making

ſuch frequent conventions, which were ſometimes productive of great confuſion. But the neglect of duke John Albert I.'s will, by which the power and dignity of the ducal houſe would have been duly maintained, was owing to the late duke Charles I. guardian to the young princes. For his own part it muſt be owned, that he ſat down contented with a ſlender appanage, whilſt the other brothers broke out into a violent conteſt about the partition; yet he much inclined to favour the ancient cuſtom of dividing the paternal inheritance, and accounting it both equitable and fair, he prevailed on his pupils to enter into the compact or ſettlement of 1608. Had he made them acquainted with their grandfather's will, duke Adolph Frederic would have paid more regard to that diſpoſition, than to the advice of his guardians; but his ignorance of the conſequences of that meaſure rendered him urgent in forwarding the partition, which he is ſaid to have afterwards moſt heartily repented. And indeed ſo great was the confuſion occaſioned by leaving the adminiſtration of ſundry articles in common, that another convention was made in 1617; but ſome defects ſtill remaining, the intire diviſion was at length rendered as explicit as poſſible, by the laſt compact in 1621.

Inconveniencies from ſetting aſide the will of duke John Albert I.

THE country is obliged to the vigorous oppoſition of the ſtates, for preventing theſe partitions being productive of a total ſeparation. It was for the advantage of the ſtates, that they ſhould remain an united body; and they were in ſome meaſure authorized to oppoſe a ſeparation by the conceſſion of the treaty of Wiſmar in 1555, and the Reverſales in 1572, as alſo by the opinion of ſeveral civilians*. Yet it muſt be acknowledged that the community or union which had hitherto obtained between the nobility and commons, did not appear to be well eſtabliſhed; and for this reaſon their proceedings on the preſent occaſion ſhould have been conducted, as they did, by the way of petition: much leſs were they authoriſed to enter into a conteſt with their ſovereign, that laſted till 1621, when they obtained the famous Act of Security and Reverſales.

The ſtates prevent a total ſeparation,

1621. And obtain the Act of Security.

* Ungnad. Amœnit.

With

With regard to this matter, it is obſervable that under duke Ulric, the nobility and commons had aimed at an extenſion, or to expreſs it in ſofter terms, at a more clear and formal declaration of their rights and privileges, than was contained in the Act of Security and Reverſales of 1572. But neither from that prince, nor from duke Charles, could they obtain any ſuch indulgence.

Manner of obtaining this act of ſecurity.

After the two young princes had taken the reins of government into their own hands, it gave them great uneaſineſs to find themſelves encumbered with a heavy load of debts, to the amount of a million of dollars. In this ſituation the nobility and commons engaged to diſcharge that ſum; in conſe-
1621. quence of which they obtained, on the 13th of February 1621, the celebrated Act of ſecurity, and the Reverſales, known by the name of Guſtrow. To theſe and the former of 1572, the nobility and commons procured, though without the prince's knowledge, the emperor's confirmation in 1626. And ever ſince, theſe inſtruments have been deemed the chief foundation and ſupport of the rights and privileges of thoſe two orders. Theſe new Reverſales turn chiefly on the contributions and finances of the country, on the management of the revenue, the coinage, the game laws, the adminiſtration of juſtice, but principally on religion. For duke John Albert II. had embraced the doctrine of Calvin in 1617; and, in order to quiet the minds of the people, had delivered a Reverſale of his own accord to the ſtates. But duke Adolphus Frederick, having proteſted that very year againſt divers clauſes of the abovementioned Reverſale, this obliged duke John Albert, about that very time, to publiſh an explanation of it, in order to remove all doubts and ambiguities *.

Duke John Albert II. embraces Calviniſm.

* Theſe three pieces Ungnaden has preſerved in his *Amænitates*. The above diſputes Kluver relates at large. The Act of ſecurity and Reverſales are alſo to be found in *Jura Meklenburgica*, printed at New Brandenburg, 1724. For farther particulars the reader may conſult the writers on the laws and political affairs of Mecklenburg, as likewiſe Kluver and Beehr.

The two dukes cultivate peace with their neighbours.

THE two dukes having ſettled the treaty of partition, governed their reſpective dominions in perfect harmony; and even in thoſe articles which they adminiſtred in common, they ſeemed always to act with fraternal concord. They were at peace with all their neighbours, having amicably terminated in 1616 their difference with Pomerania concerning the limits. This was the very ſame diſpute which had been carried on between the ſovereigns of that country, and the dukes John Albert and Frederic; and had not been properly terminated till the preſent treaty. The ſucceeding year both parties entered into a convention with John Sigiſmund, elector of Brandenburg, for the maintenance of the public tranquility *. The ſame year (1617) the duchy of Mecklenburg, in conjunction with other proteſtant ſtates, celebrated the great jubilee, in commemoration of Luther's reformation; this was the firſt of the kind, and kept by the appointment of John George, the firſt elector of Saxony, who was conſidered as the head of the proteſtant party in Germany. His dignity and zeal for his religion induced the other princes of that perſuaſion to follow his example in the celebration of this jubilee.

1616.

1617.

Two years after that event, the univerſity of Roſtock ſolemnized with great ſplendour the memory of its inſtitution by a jubilee †. A particular account of which, with the orations and academical pieces, was printed at Roſtock in 1620 ‡.

1619.

* The treaty of 1616, and the convention of 1617, were both publiſhed at that time in Roſtock.

† The flouriſhing ſtate of the univerſity of Roſtock, at this period, will appear in ſome meaſure by the following liſt of its learned profeſſors: in divinity, Johannes Quiſtorpius, Th. D. et Prof. Joh. Tarnovius, Th. D. et Prof. Eilhardus Lubinus, Th. D. et Prof. Joh. Aſſelmannus, Th. D. et Prof. In facultate juridica, Joach. Schonermarchius, J. U. D. et Prof. Thomas Lindemannus, J. U. D. et Prof. In facultate medica, Joh. Fabricius, M. D. et Prof. Joh. Bacmeiſter, M. D. et Prof. In facultate philoſophica, Azarias Sturzius, J. D. et Prof. Hiſt. Petrus Saſſius, Logices Prof. Joh. Laurenbergius, M. D. et Poeſ. Prof. M. Joh. Huſwedel, Ethices Prof. M. Georg. Daſenius, Mathem. Prof. Joh. Simonius, Rhet. Prof. and Joh. Poſſelius Græcæ Linguæ Prof. names all well known in the republic of letters.

‡ A deſcription of it was publiſhed in that city in 1620, with this title, *Jubilæum Academiæ Roſtoch.*

THUS the country of Mecklenburg enjoyed the moſt profound tranquillity, when the thirty years war was kindled in Bohemia, and ſoon ſpreading its devouring flames into Lower Saxony, involved the ſtates of that country, and conſequently our two princes, in the general combuſtion. The origin and progreſs of this famous war are events of the moſt intereſting conſequence to Mecklenburg, as well as to great part of Europe, and ſhall be fully explained in the ſequel of this hiſtory §.

§ Beehr, Kluver, Bacm. Chemnitz, Puffendorff, Caraffa, Germania Sacra reſtaurata. Epitome Rerum Germ. 1617 to 1647.

THE

LOUISA FREDERICA,
Reigning Dutchefs of Mecklenburg Suerin.

THE HISTORY OF VANDALIA.

BOOK VII.

Containing the Tranſactions of the Thirty Years War, with the Proſcription and Reſtoration of the Dukes of MECKLENBURG, from 1618 to 1648.

LET me now tread in the footſteps of the Roman hiſtorian *, by declaring at the entrance of this part of my work, that I have undertaken to relate the events of a war, the longeſt and moſt obſtinate that was ever waged among Chriſtian powers; a war that drenched the earth with more human blood, and ſpread more miſery and devaſtation through deſolated provinces, than any of thoſe with which Europe had been formerly afflicted. The horrors of this war far ſurpaſſed thoſe of the hoſtile invaſions of the Goths and Viſigoths, of the Dacæ and the Vandals, whoſe joint efforts diſmembered the weſtern empire; or thoſe of the Franks and Burgundians, who drove the Romans out of Gaul. Thoſe barbarous invaders, having in one or two campaigns diſpoſſeſſed the ancient uſurpers, immediately incorporated themſelves with the conquered nations whom they had reſcued from a foreign yoke, and ſoon laid the foundations of a new kingdom. But the war I am about to deſcribe was a devouring flame, that ſpread itſelf through moſt

* Livy, Dec. III. lib. 1.

parts of Europe; ſcarce a kingdom or a province but felt its direful effects, and with ſuch fury did it rage, that it was thought impoſſible to be extinguiſhed, while men could be found to ſerve the deſtructive purpoſes of ambitious princes, whoſe avarice and whoſe revenge were never glutted, but ſeemed to be obſtinately bent on ſacrificing human victims at the bloody altars of Bellona.

In no country were the horrors of this deſtructive war more ſeverely felt than in the unhappy duchy of Mecklenburg. Inroads into every part of that rich province were inceſſantly made by hoſtile armies; towns were taken, plundered, and burnt; barbarous and unrelenting troops were quartered on the diſtreſſed inhabitants; the lands and effects of the nobility were ſeized by armed ruffians; and, to complete the calamitous ſcene, the ſovereigns themſelves were diſpoſſeſſed of their ancient patrimony and doomed to exile, on account of the glorious ſtruggle they had made in defence of the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the empire. By what means they were enabled, after ſo dreadful a ſtorm, to get ſafe into port, and to recover their loſt territories, ſhall be fully ſet forth in the courſe of this book.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

State of the empire before the thirty years war. Difference of religion the firſt cauſe of the diſturbances. Violent proceeding againſt the elector of Cologne, upon his turning proteſtant. Diſturbances in the biſhoprick of Straſburg. Religious diſputes at Aix la Chapelle. The affair of Donawert. Diſputes about the ſucceſſion of Juliers and Cleves. Union of the proteſtant princes. League of the catholic ſtates. Jealouſies of both parties.

State of the empire before the thirty years war.

IN the beginning of the 17th century, Rudolph II. was ſtill ſeated on the imperial throne, and Germany enjoyed a profound calm, when the clouds from afar ſeemed to be pregnant with ſtorms, which at length burſt forth, and involved the whole country, but particularly the duchy of Mecklenburg, in one general ſcene of ravage and deſolation. From what cauſes ſuch dire calamities ſprung it will be proper for us here to inveſtigate, and to trace to their ſource thoſe dreadful commotions, which after threatening the numerous ſtates of the empire with total ruin, ſhook at length the imperial throne to the very foundation.

Difference of religion, firſt cauſe of the diſturbances.

THE firſt cauſe of theſe unhappy diſturbances was the difference of religion among the ſeveral ſtates of the empire, which occaſioned a mutual jealouſy and diſtruſt, and at length inflamed their minds to ſuch a pitch of hatred and animoſity as to drench their ſwords in each others blood, in ſupport of indifferent ceremonies and metaphyſical diſtinctions. The treaty of Paſſau and the peace of Augſburg had reſtored an apparent tranquillity, but ſtill there were latent animoſities on both ſides, buried as it were under the embers, likely to rekindle a flame, whenever the diſcordant parties ſhould have an opportunity to increaſe their ſtrength and to diſturb the public tranquillity. The very treaty of the peace of Augſburg was a ſubject of perpetual contention, the proteſtants on the one ſide,

and the catholics on the other, objecting that this ſolemn agreement was either violated by open force, or eluded by chicane and every artifice of malice and fraud. The catholics made great complaints of the ſecularization of eccleſiaſtical livings ſince the treaty of Paſſaw; and the proteſtants retorted the charge by mentioning the heavy grievance of the *Reſervatum Eccleſiaſticum* *, which was rather increaſed than removed by the pacification of Augſburg. A body thus diſtempered, and labouring under a contrariety of humours, ſtood in need of phyſic; that is of an umpire or judge, who ſhould determine theſe differences in the dernier reſort. The emperor's authority was now ſo reduced, that little regard was paid to his reſcripts, or to the deciſions of his tribunals, unleſs when they happened to be in favour of the party, or when inability of reſiſtance enforced obedience. Thus the public grievances ſeemed to be increaſing every day, while the remedies againſt thoſe evils were rather diminiſhing. The proteſtants on thoſe occaſions argued, that diſputes of this nature ought to be decided by the amicable accommodation of the contending parties, and not by the awards of the tribunal of Spire; that the pacification of Augſburg was eſtabliſhed by the conſent of the ſtates of the empire, and therefore the conteſts which might ariſe from thence, ſhould be determined by the ſame aſſembly; that all imperial declarations or conſtitutions contrary to that pacification, were abſolutely illegal, whether they came from the imperial chamber of Spire, or from the aulic council; that the judges of the imperial chamber were eaſily corrupted, and generally inclined to favour the popiſh party. The catholics on the other hand replied, that it was the emperor's office and duty to determine cauſes among his ſubjects ariſing from the interpretation of laws enacted under

* The Reſervatum Eccleſiaſticum was a ſtipulation made by the emperor at the pacification of Augſburg in 1555, in favour of the catholics; by virtue of which every prelate or beneficed eccleſiaſtic of the Romiſh perſuaſion, ſubject to the empire, who embraced the confeſſion of Augſburg, ſhould forfeit his living, which from that inſtant was to become vacant, and to revert to the diſpoſal of thoſe who had the collation of that benefice.

his

his auſpices, among which they reckoned the pacification of Augſburg; nor ſhould any erroneous decrees made in prejudice to that famous treaty, be alledged as an objection againſt the court, whoſe buſineſs it is to relieve the oppreſſed and injured, but whoſe opinions, as being fallible men, are not exempt from error. Neither ſhould magiſtrates, appointed by the emperor and the diet for the deciſion of public cauſes, be wantonly charged with partiality and corruption; nor ſhould the power inveſted in them by law, be revoked in favour of thoſe, who, being conſcious of the iniquity of their cauſe, are, like all other criminals, diſſatisfied with the determination of a ſuperior court of juſtice. Thus the juriſdiction of the higher tribunals, the only tie of civil ſociety, being ſet aſide, and no hopes remaining of any reconciliation between the contending parties, nothing more remained than that thoſe conteſts and diſputes ſhould be determined by the longeſt ſword, and the uncertain event of an inteſtine and deſtructive war.

But as great conflagrations are frequently preceded by leſs deſtructive fires, ſo there were ſeveral commotions and diſturbances, that ſeemed to be preludes to the thirty years war, and portended that great combuſtion which at length involved the whole German empire in one general ruin.

Violent proceeding againſt the elector of Cologne upon turning Proteſtant, 1582.

To take notice of only a few of thoſe broils, which were preparatory to this fatal war, I muſt not omit mentioning the affair of Gebhard Truchſes, archbiſhop and elector of Cologne. This famous prelate had, in the year 1582, embraced the doctrines of Calvin, and publicly married Agnes, canoneſs of Guriſheim, a lady of exquiſite beauty, and daughter of John George, count of Mansfeld. Having openly declared his nuptials and change of religion, he would fain have introduced the reformation into his electorate; but he met with a ſtrenuous oppoſition from the ſenate of Cologne, and from the chapter of the cathedral, animated by the dean, who now aſpired to the electoral dignity. The chapter preferred their complaint before the pope, in conſequence of which Gebhard was excommunicated.

cated. Irritated by this proceeding, the elector aſſembled a body of troops, and being aſſiſted by ſome proteſtant princes, determined to keep poſſeſſion of his archiepiſcopal ſee. With this view he commenced hoſtilities againſt the chapter, and granted liberty of conſcience to his ſubjects. The chapter received ſome ſuccours from the duke of Cleves, and from the duke of Parma, governor of the Low Countries. The dean aſſembled the provincial ſtates of the electorate, where he charged the elector with hereſy, as likewiſe with levying forces without their conſent, and with a deſign of introducing foreign troops into the country. He moreover inſiſted on the *reſervatum eccleſiaſticum*, and concluded with requeſting that a declaration ſhould be made of Gebhard's having forfeited his electoral dignity. The ſtates being excited by the papal deputies, by the emperor, and the duke of Parma, complied with the dean's propoſal, and commiſſioned him to levy an army againſt the abdicated elector. Gebhard on his part implored the aſſiſtance of the proteſtant princes; but none of them moved to his relief, becauſe they were moſt or all of them Lutherans, and he, as I before obſerved, had embraced the Calviniſtical tenets. The chapter elected Erneſt, ſon of the duke of Bavaria, for their archbiſhop, who being obliged to ſupport his new dignity againſt Gebhard, took the field with a body of his brother's troops, reinforced by thoſe of the emperor: after ſeveral engagements, in which victory declared alternately in favour of the two rivals, Gebhard was at laſt expelled from his dominions, and obliged to retire with his fair Agnes to Holland, and from thence to Straſburg, where he ſpent the remainder of his days, oppreſſed with grief and chagrin. Erneſt, having got poſſeſſion of the archbiſhoprick, would grant no toleration to the Proteſtant religion, and ever ſince the Roman catholic worſhip has been maintained in that electorate.

1592. Diſturbances in the biſhoprick of Straſburg.

THE affair of Truchſes was ſoon after ſucceeded by great diſturbances in the biſhoprick of Straſburg, which aroſe upon the death of John de Manderſcheid, biſhop of that city. The chapter were partly proteſtants, partly catholics; the former choſe George of Brandenburg, ſon of the elector Joachim Frederick; the latter gave their

their votes to Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, ſon of duke Charles I. This gave riſe to a civil war between the two competitors, which was not concluded till the year 1604. And the advantage remained on the ſide of the cardinal of Lorrain, through the ſupineneſs of the Proteſtant party.

1593. Religious diſputes at Aix la Chapelle.

THE year following was remarkable for the religious conteſts at Aix la Chapelle, where the proteſtants had found means to introduce themſelves into the magiſtracy, which was conſidered by the catholics as a flagrant uſurpation. Complaint being made to the emperor, the proteſtant magiſtrates were condemned to reſign their offices, and to pay a conſiderable fine. This ſentence was executed in 1598, by the electors of Cologne and Treves, and by the biſhop of Liege. The proteſtant magiſtrates were depoſed, their places given to catholics, and they were moreover condemned to defray the expences of the execution of the ſentence; but not being able to comply with this laſt moſt heavy condition, all the proteſtants were in 1605 expelled the city.

1606. The affair of Donawert.

THE broils of religion ſeemed to have ſubſided for a while, when the diſturbances at Donawert revived them with greater fury. This had been hitherto an imperial city in the circle of Suabia, and profeſſed the proteſtant religion; but the catholics had ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the Abbey of the Holy Croſs. The abbot having made a religious proceſſion, contrary to the injunction of the magiſtrates, the populace were incenſed againſt the Romiſh clergy, and proceeded to open acts of violence. The abbot complained to the emperor, who commiſſioned the duke of Bavaria to make an enquiry into the facts. The duke nominated particular commiſſioners to take depoſitions upon the ſpot. This enraged the populace to ſuch a degree, that, in the fury of their religious zeal, they aſſaulted the commiſſioners, and made them feel the heavy weight of their indignation. The emperor thereupon put the town of Donawert under the imperial bann, and gave directions to the duke of Bavaria, to carry the decree into execution; the duke made himſelf maſter of Donawert, and kept it in his own poſſeſſion, in order to indemnify

himself for the expences of this expedition. All the Protestants throughout the empire loudly complained of this extraordinary proceeding. The circle of Suabia looked upon it as a very great abuse, that the execution of the bann of Donawert should be entrusted to a prince of a different circle; alledging, that it should have been given to the duke of Wirtemberg, as chief of the circle in which that town was situated. Several deputations were sent to the emperor on this account; the duke of Bavaria, nevertheless, kept possession of his conquest. This may be considered as one of the principal causes of the war that broke out in 1619, on the account of religion.

1609. Disputes about the succession of Juliers and Cleves.

Not long after happened an affair of much greater importance, which likewise turned out greatly in favour of the Roman Catholic party. This was the famous dispute concerning the succession of Juliers and Cleves. John William, the last duke of Juliers and Cleves, died this year without issue, and his succession ought to have devolved, according to the laws of the empire, to his four sisters, and their heirs. But interest and ambition on those occasions are ready to exceed the bounds of equity and justice; those who have no right by law, desire to come in for a share; and those to whom the laws distribute a share, are prompted by their avarice to grasp at the whole. The competitors were John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, son of an only daughter of Mary Eleonora, the eldest of the four sisters; Wolfang William, duke of Neuburg, son of Anne, the second sister; John, duke of Deux Ponts, son of the third sister; Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgau, who had married the fourth; and the dukes of Saxony, who were descended from Sibylla of Cleves, aunt to the late duke. There were besides some other claims of no importance. If the pretensions of the three last seem not to have been so well founded as those of the two first, they had however more moderation; and were willing to have their claims determined by the ordinary tribubunal; whereas the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg, resolved to assert their right by force of arms. The whole question depended upon this one point; the emperor

Charles

Charles V. had granted to the father of the late duke of Juliers, a privilege bearing, that in caſe he died without iſſue male, one of his daughters, having male children, ſhould be capable of ſucceeding him; hence the duke of Neuburg pretended to be the only heir, as the male iſſue of the ſecond ſiſter, excluſive of thoſe who were ſons only of the third or fourth; and of the elector of Brandenburg, who was only deſcended from the eldeſt by a daughter.

THIS mighty conteſt could not be more properly decided than by the emperor, from whoſe conceſſions all theſe contradictory privileges had been derived. Rudolph II. cited all the claimants to appear in his court; which the elector of Saxony, an old friend of the imperial family, agreed to moſt readily, and received of the emperor the eventual poſſeſſion of thoſe territories. But till the definitive ſentence could be pronounced, it was ordained that thoſe lands ſhould be ſequeſtered into the hands of the archbiſhop Leopold, biſhop of Paſſau, who for this effect was inveſted with the imperial commiſſion. To this the elector of Saxony alſo conſented; but ſuch condeſcenſion to the imperial court, was productive of a conſequence very unfavourable to the houſe of Saxony. The elector of Brandenburg and the palatine of Neuburg refuſed thereupon to acknowledge the emperor for their judge, under colour that he had ſhewn his partiality by inveſting the elector of Saxony with the lands in litigation. On the other hand the neighbouring ſtates, eſpecially France and Holland, vigorouſly oppoſed the ſcheme of ſequeſtration; both apprehending leſt the houſe of Auſtria ſhould ſeize on thoſe duchies for herſelf. Thoſe two powers ſent conſiderable ſuccours to the houſe of Brandenburg and the houſe of Neuburg; in conſequence of which the Spaniards and the Auſtrians were driven out of thoſe duchies, and the above two competitors took poſſeſſion of the country. They had previouſly conſented, by a treaty ſigned at Dortmund, to hold them in common, till they could come to an agreement with regard to the partition. Accordingly a treaty was concluded at Sand, in the duchy of Cleves, between thoſe two princes, 1614.

for dividing the ſucceſſion of Juliers; but the treaty was broke almoſt as ſoon as concluded. A method however was hit upon by their friends for compoſing their differences, which was to marry the daughter of the elector of Brandenburg to Wolfgang, the young duke of Neuburg. This ſcheme bore at firſt a favourable aſpect; but the duke having paid a viſit to his intended father-in-law, a diſpute enſued over their cups, which ſet them more than ever at variance. So tranſported was the elector in his paſſion, that he gave the duke a box on the ear; and the latter finding himſelf too weak to revenge the affront, turned Roman catholic, in expectation of being ſupported by the Spaniards and the Auſtrian party. On the other hand the elector, who had been a Lutheran, embraced the Calviniſtical perſuaſion, in hopes of aſſiſtance from the Dutch. Thus the war was recommenced between the two rivals, or rather between the Spaniards and the Dutch, who, in the name of their allies, took poſſeſſion of thoſe countries, which were then the bone of contention. The affair was afterwards decided by a definitive treaty at Cleves in 1616, between the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg; in virtue of which the former obtained the duchy of Cleves and the counties of Marck and Ravenſburg; the latter had to his ſhare the duchies of Juliers and Berg, and the lordſhip of Ravenſtein *.

Union of the proteſtant princes.

All theſe diſturbances, which terminated to the advantage of the catholic cauſe, greatly irritated the minds of the proteſtants, and even rendered them apprehenſive of danger. Finding their religion and their liberties at ſtake, from the continual machinations of their enemies, they reſolved to conſult their own

1610. ſafety, by entering into a confederacy at Hall in Suabia, which was called the *Evangelical Union*, and to which the king of

* It has been a very warm diſpute in our times, whether the above treaty related only to the males of the branch of Neuburg, or was to be extended to the females. The point was determined in favour of the latter, and in the year 1743 the count palatine of Sultzbach, ſucceeded the elector, Charles Philip, laſt palatine of Neuburg, in the duchy of Juliers and Berg, in right of his wife, grand-daughter to his predeceſſor.

France

France acceded on the 15th of February. The duke of Wirtemberg, Maurice, landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, Joachim Erneſt, marquis of Anſpach, Frederick, marquis of Baden Durlach, Chriſtian, prince of Anhalt, with moſt of the imperial cities joined in this confederacy; Frederick, elector palatine, was declared its chief, and Chriſtian, prince of Anhalt, his lieutenant. This was an alliance like that of Smalkalde; by which the proteſtant princes mutually obliged themſelves to join their forces in defence of each other, in caſe of being attacked by the catholics on the account of religion *.

A copy of this treaty was ſent to the two young dukes of Mecklenburg, by John Sigiſmund elector of Brandenburg, exhorting thoſe princes by all means to join in the confederacy. The dukes, conſidering the bad ſtate of their finances, thought it imprudent to enter into ſuch a meaſure, without conſulting the ſtates of the province; and gave this for anſwer to the elector. Accordingly they convened the ſtates for that purpoſe, and the aſſembly unanimouſly diſſuaded them from acceding to the union. The dukes in conſequence declined the propoſal. Their private reaſons were, that the ſame miſtakes had been committed here, as in the league at Smalkalde; there was no proper chief, ſufficiently acquainted with the art of war, and deeply verſed in politics; beſides, unanimity was wanting among the confederates; and their military ſyſtem at home and abroad was very deficient; not to mention that the moſt powerful prince of the confeſſion of Augſburg, did not take part in this alliance. This was John George I. elector of Saxony, whoſe behaviour was far from giving any encouragement to the union. His ſtates would have hardly hindered him from acceding to that confederacy, and his own inclination would have led him to join it, if the members of the union would have excluded all the Calviniſts, and choſen him commander in chief; but theological controverſies had wrought ſo ſtrongly in his mind, that he had a greater averſion to the Calviniſts than even to the

* The firſt foundation of it was laid in 1609, at Aſchauſen in Odenwalde.

Catholics themſelves. His chaplain, Matthias Hoe, who, with a commendable zeal for the Augſburg confeſſion, underſtood too little of politics, was at this juncture his only counſellor; this prevented him from ſeeing the great danger which threatened the whole proteſtant cauſe. But perhaps his chief motive for refuſing to accede to the union, was his claim to the ſucceſſion of Juliers, in which he was oppoſed by ſeveral of the united princes; whereas the imperial court cajoled him with ſpecious promiſes, that if he declined joining thoſe princes, this great diſpute ſhould be decided in his favour.

League of the catholic ſtates.

BE that as it may, the news of the union of Hall ſpread a general alarm among the catholic princes, who now thought it high time to enter into a mutual alliance, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of the proteſtant ſtates. This alliance was concluded at Wurtzburg the ſame year as the union. The members of this confederacy, which was called the *Catholic League*, were Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, who was appointed chief under the authority of the emperor, the electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, the archbiſhop of Saltzburg, the biſhops of Bamberg, Wartzburg, and Aichſtat, and the archdukes of Auſtria; even the pope, the king of Spain, and ſeveral other foreign princes deſired to be admitted into this alliance.

Jealouſies of both parties.

THE different factions having thus concerted meaſures according to their ſeveral intereſts, their chiefs being appointed, and their forces almoſt equal, the people imagined themſelves at the eve of a civil and religious war. A mutual jealouſy prevailed between both parties, their hatred was equal, and the animoſity was fed by ſcandalous libels, with which all Germany ſwarmed. The proteſtants were conſcious of their weakneſs, and the catholics apprehended the uncertain events of war. Thus their mutual fears ſuſpended for a while the calamities of the empire. After making all the preparatives for war, they contented themſelves with ſtanding upon the defenſive; when a ſpark, which was kindled in Bohemia in 1618, rouſed them all to arms, and ſpread a moſt deſtructive conflagration throughout the empire. In order to give a clear account of this important

tant affair, we muſt trace matters back, and inquire into the ſtate and government of that kingdom *.

CHAP. II.

The BOHEMIAN WAR.

State of the proteſtant religion in Bohemia. Diviſions in the imperial family advantageous to the proteſtants. Death of the emperor Rudolph II. Matthias his ſucceſſor ſhews a diſlike to the proteſtants. Matthias chuſes the archduke Ferdinand for his ſucceſſor. Ferdinand crowned king of Bohemia. The Bohemian proteſtants oppreſſed. Violent behaviour of the latter to ſome of the emperor's council. The Bohemians revolt. The emperor Matthias dies, and is ſucceeded by Ferdinand II. The Bohemians depoſe Ferdinand, and chuſe the elector palatine for their king. Preparations on both ſides for war. Diet of Mulhauſen. Battle of Prague, and defeat of the palatine.

State of the proteſtant religion in Bohemia.

BOHEMIA is a ſmall kingdom in the eaſt part of Germany, extremely fertile in corn, abounding alſo in mines of gold, ſilver, and tin, and producing all the neceſſaries of life. The capital is Prague, watered by the Muldaw, a large populous city, and conſiderable on the account of its univerſity, at which there were ſaid at one time to have been thirty thouſand ſtudents. The kingdom was formerly elective, but by frequently chuſing princes of the houſe of Auſtria, it at length became hereditary in that family. At the preſent period, however, the mode of election ſtill obtained; and the king was one of the electors of the German empire. The Bohemians had many privileges granted by their different ſovereigns, and eſpecially thoſe of the houſe of Auſtria, who by their indulgence

* Heiſſe, Barre, Pfeffel, Bougeant, Khevenhuller, Beehr, Franck.

expected to ſecure the poſſeſſion of that fine country. The inhabitants were divided by two religions, one profeſſed by the catholics, and the other by the Calixtans, or Huſſites, the latter had been ſo powerful in the fifteenth century, that before they would acknowledge the emperor Sigiſmund as king of Bohemia, he was obliged to indulge them with a privilege, that there ſhould be no citizen or magiſtrate in Prague but ſuch as were of their perſuaſion. The emperor Maximilian the Second encroached upon this grant, by allowing catholics to enjoy the freedom of that city; and their number conſiderably increaſed by means of the governors and the emperor's other officers, who were all of the catholic religion. Under the reign of that emperor's ſon Rudolph II. the proteſtants began to be oppreſſed, and the catholics enjoyed the firſt poſts in the kingdom; their clergy were likewiſe reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all the eſtates of which they had been formerly deprived by the Huſſites.

1611. Diviſions in the imperial family advantageous to the proteſtants.

But the diviſions which ſoon after aroſe in the imperial family, opened a proſpect to the Bohemian proteſtants of ſeeing an end of their grievances. Rudolph II. had concerted meaſures with the Spaniards, to prevent his brother Matthias, of whom he was extremely jealous, from mounting either the imperial or Bohemian throne. It was his intention to place both thoſe crowns on the head of the archduke Leopold, of the Auſtrian branch of Stiria: with this view Leopold invaded Bohemia, with an army ill diſciplined and ill paid, and having made himſelf maſter of Prague, he committed great outrages in that city. In this dilemma, the Bohemians had recourſe to Matthias, then king of Hungary, for his aſſiſtance. Matthias ſeized the opportunity of wreſting the kingdom of Bohemia, as he had already done that of Hungary, from his brother. He marched into Bohemia with a ſtrong body of troops, drove Leopold out of the country, and as a reward for his ſervices he was crowned king
1611. at Prague: his brother at length conſented to this meaſure, upon condition of being allowed the revenue of the demeſne lands for the ſupport of his court. Having thus attained the

quiet

quiet poſſeſſion of this kingdom, Matthias ſeemed to be deſirous of conciliating the affection of the proteſtants, by granting them every indulgence and confirming all their privileges.

1612. Death of the emperor Rudolph II.

THE year after this memorable event died the emperor Rudolph II. a pacific good-natured prince, but very unfit for government. His chief attention was engroſſed by the ſciences, particularly the ſtudy of mechanics: he was alſo a great lover of chemiſtry and aſtronomy, which made him neglect the more important concerns of government. Theſe occupations, joined to a natural timidity, inſpired his enemies with a contempt of his character.

1612. Matthias his ſucceſſor ſhews his diſlike to the proteſtants.

UPON the death of his brother Rudolph, Matthias was raiſed to the imperial throne. The ambition of this prince, having no higher object to aſpire to, ſoon gave way to his zeal for the Romiſh religion. He had hitherto diſſembled with the proteſtants, but now he threw off the maſk, and after having artfully managed the party in order to become their maſter, he was reſolved to make them feel the weight of his power. But he ſoon found that they would not eaſily bend, being ſo much the more exaſperated at this change of behaviour, as they had reaſon to expect greater indulgence. At the two diets, which he convened at Ratiſbon and Lintz, in order to obtain ſuccours againſt Gabriel Bethlem *, prince of Tranſylvania, who

* This was his real name, and not Bethlem Gabor, as he is commonly called. He was a moſt extraordinary man. From a private gentleman, he roſe to the government of Tranſylvania. Formed in the court of Gabriel Battori, prince of that country, he went to Conſtantinople, where he ingratiated himſelf with the Turks. With their aſſiſtance, in 1613, he defeated his benefactor Gabriel Battori, and having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in Hungary, he cauſed himſelf to be declared king. In 1620 the emperor ſent the counts Dampierre and Bucquoy againſt him, but they were defeated and loſt their lives. He was afterwards preſſed ſo hard, as to ſue for peace, which was granted him, on condition of renouncing the regal title, and being content with that of prince of the empire: he took up arms again ſeveral times, for his reſtleſs ſpirit never allowed him to be idle: but meeting with many defeats, he was obliged to ſubmit to the emperor in 1624. He was by religion a Calviniſt, had been preſent in forty-two battles, and negotiated at once with all the proteſtant princes and ſtates of Europe, half the popiſh ones, and alſo with the Grand Seignor. At length he died of a dropſy in 1629.

made frequent irruptions into Hungary, the proteſtants found means to elude his propoſals, and to fruſtrate the end of thoſe meetings. They preſented ſeveral addreſſes, ſetting forth their numerous grievances, but all were ineffectual, the emperor being determined to grant them no relief.

1617. Matthias chuſes the archduke Ferdinand for his ſucceſſor.

THUS did this prince continue to ſhew, throughout his reign, a blind and impolitic zeal for the Romiſh religion: finding himſelf advanced in years, and without iſſue, he began to think of ſettling his ſucceſſion; Philip III. king of Spain, ſtrongly recommended to him the archduke Ferdinand, ſon of Charles, duke of Stiria, and grandſon of Ferdinand I. a prince educated in Spaniſh principles. Matthias had no objection to Ferdinand, but the difficulty was to perſuade his own brothers, Albert and Maximilian, to come into that meaſure. The king of Spain undertook to manage that point, and ſucceeded; ſo that, on the ſixth of June, thoſe two princes were perſuaded to renounce their brother's inheritance. After a great many debates, the ſtates of Bohemia were alſo prevailed upon to conſent to this regulation; and Ferdinand being ſolemnly adopted by Matthias, was crowned king of Bohemia at Prague, on the nineteenth of June, on condition of his not interfering with the government during the emperor's life, without his conſent and that of the ſtates. He then confirmed by oath the privileges of the kingdom, and particularly the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion.

Ferdinand crowned K. of Bohemia.

The Bohemian proteſtants oppreſſed.

BUT Ferdinand, like many of his predeceſſors, had promiſed more than he intended to perform, as appeared by the whole tenour of his conduct during a long and agitated reign. The Bohemian proteſtants met with no better treatment than before; nay, they complained that inſtead of new indulgences, which they had reaſon to expect, they were even debarred of their ancient and undoubted privileges. Rudolph II. had publiſhed an edict, granting them the free exerciſe of their religion, with permiſſion to build churches, and to found colleges for the education of youth. In conſequence of this right, which they had exerciſed from time to time, they erected a church in

1618, on the lands of the abbot of Brunau, and another in the village of Cloſtergrab, which depended on the archbiſhop of Prague. The abbot oppoſed the attempt by appealing to the imperial authority, and the archbiſhop declared his oppoſition, by ordering the church to be demoliſhed. The queſtion was, whether the edict of the emperor Rudolph gave the proteſtants leave to erect places of public worſhip on lands belonging to catholic churches, as well as on thoſe of the royal demeſne. The proteſtants underſtood that the edict extended to both, and looked upon the diſtinction as nugatory and evaſive. 1618.

Violent behaviour of the proteteſtants to ſome of the emperor's council.

In conſequence of theſe proceedings ſeveral noblemen of the proteſtant religion complained to the council, which the emperor had left at Prague; but they received a ſupercilious anſwer, implying, that nothing had been done contrary to the privileges of the ſubjects, or the edicts of the emperor. The complainants ſeeing themſelves treated with ſcorn and contempt, convened, of their own authority, the ſtates of the kingdom, in order to deliberate upon their grievances. At the head of theſe was count Thurn *, a nobleman of great fortune, courage, and abilities. As he was animated with an extraordinary zeal for the proteſtant religion and the liberties of the kingdom, he harangued the aſſembly, and after enumerating all their grievances, exhorted them to ſhake off the ignominious yoke, to which they had been ſo long enſlaved. Two days after the aſſembly was opened, ſeveral noblemen, together with count Thurn, were ſent as deputies to the council, where they repeated their remonſtrances, and demanded juſtice in a peremptory manner. The preſident of the council, whoſe name was William Slabata, irritated at the haughty language of the deputies, inſtead of complying with their demands, threatened them with the emperor's indignation. Count Martinitz, another member of the council, and Philip Fabricius their ſecretary, treated them in the ſame manner. Upon which the de-

* This nobleman by many Engliſh writers, imitating the French, is abſurdly ſtiled *count de la Tour*.

puties were incenſed to ſuch a degree, that they ruſhed upon thoſe magiſtrates, and threw them all three headlong, from the windows of a ſecond ſtory, into a ditch *; but they had the good fortune to eſcape unhurt from the fall, as well as from the muſket ſhot that were ſent after them. Nay, the ſecretary Fabricius is ſaid to have been ſo little ſtunned, as to recollect the etiquette, and to aſk pardon of Slabata for taking the liberty to fall a-top of him. From ſo ſmall a ſpark, that in the beginning might have eaſily been extinguiſhed, aroſe a fatal war, which deluged all Germany with blood, and was with difficulty ſtopped by a ten years negotiation, that produced an intire change in the political ſyſtem of Europe.

The Bohemians revolt.

AFTER this extraordinary ſtep, count Thurn, who was the principal actor in ſo bold a ſcene, finding he had proceeded too far to retreat, rode through the ſtreets, attended by his aſſociates, and harangued the populace, ſpiriting them up to arms in defence of their religious and civil liberties. He concluded his ſpeech with theſe words: "Liberty, from this example of "ours, will inſinuate itſelf throughout the empire; and though "there be ſome appearance of violence in our conduct, yet ne-"ceſſity and religion will excuſe the deed. There is now no room "to retract, no plea for indulgence. The die is thrown—free-"dom, or the ſcaffold. If conquerors, we ſhall be termed men of "principle; but if overcome, perfidious beings, perjured and "rebellious." This harangue met with general applauſe; the proteſtants took poſſeſſion of the government, levied troops, and drove the royaliſts and the Jeſuits out of the kingdom. The next ſtep they took was to publiſh a manifeſto, in order to juſtify the *Defeneſtration*, (the name they gave to the outrage committed againſt the magiſtrates) as being an act agreeable to the uſages and cuſtoms of the kingdom.

* Some ſay it was the water in the ditch that ſaved them; others, that it was owing to a dunghill under the windows; but the catholics imputed it to a miraculous interpoſition of Providence.

THE

THE emperor Matthias was extremely incenſed at the violent behaviour of the Bohemian malecontents, yet would fain have reclaimed them by gentle methods. Finding, however, that they appeared determined in their revolt, he ſent for the count de Bucquoy, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars of the Netherlands, and gave him the command of the imperial army. Still he was loath to proceed to extremities, and therefore, when the army was ready to march, he had again recourſe to letters, edicts, and declarations, to which they paid very little regard, being emboldened in their revolt by the promiſes of the envoys of Holland, and the princes of the union of Hall. King Ferdinand was of opinion, that the revolters ought to be immediately reduced by force of arms; but his influence did not as yet predominate in the councils of the emperor. This was owing to the ſuggeſtions of cardinal Kleſel, biſhop of Vienna, and prime miniſter to Matthias; a prelate who had always oppoſed the violence of Spaniſh counſels, by which Ferdinand was entirely governed. To remove this difficulty, the cardinal was apprehended by Ferdinand's orders, without the emperor's knowledge, and conveyed to a caſtle in Tyrol, where he continued five years a cloſe priſoner. Ferdinand endeavoured to juſtify this proceeding to the emperor, by repreſenting the cardinal as an intriguing prelate, who had embroiled the kingdom of Bohemia, on purpoſe to render himſelf the more neceſſary to his ſovereign. The emperor, who was now grown aged and infirm, found himſelf ſo affected by this violent behaviour of king Ferdinand, that he died of grief and vexation the year following.

The emperor Matthias dies, and is ſucceeded by Ferdinand II.

AFTER long and violent debates in the electoral college at Frankfort, Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, was choſen emperor, on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, and crowned on the tenth of September following. He was grandſon of the emperor Ferdinand I. and then in his forty-firſt year. The ſtates of Bohemia, Luſatia, Sileſia, and Upper Auſtria, refuſed to acknowledge this prince for their ſovereign. The Bohemian revolters

1619. The Bohemians depoſe Ferdinand, and chuſe the elector palatine for their king.

revolters assembled at Prague, on the nineteeth of August, and solemnly deposed Ferdinand II. whom they had before elected for their sovereign. The reasons they alledged for this proceeding, were that Ferdinand had not ascended the throne by just and lawful means, but by the influence of money, the Spaniards having taken care to bribe the chiefs of the nation; that their sovereign was to rule agreeably to the laws, which Ferdinand had openly infringed, and consequently forfeited the crown; that he had violated their privileges, and sent foreign troops into the kingdom; in fine, that he had agreed with the Spaniards to render the crown hereditary in his family, contrary to the right of election, which was a fundamental law of the kingdom. Whatever inclination Ferdinand had to take vengeance on his revolted subjects, he did not yet consider the conjuncture as favourable to this design, and therefore thought proper to have recourse to pacific and lenient measures; in short, he promised to confirm all their privileges, and to indulge them with full liberty of conscience. But the states of Bohemia would not be cajoled by fair words; they proceeded to a new election, and after having fluctuated some time between the elector of Saxony and the duke of Savoy, their suffrages were united in favour of Frederic V. elector palatine, chief of the protestant union. This prince, son in law to the king of England, seemed worthy of wearing a crown, and able to defend it. He was then in the flower of life, of an easy, mild disposition, endued with sound sense, which rendered him apprehensive of the consequences of such a step, in case he should miscarry: he therefore hesitated a long time whether he should accept of the Bohemian crown, and his prudent mother, Louisa Juliana, dissuaded him from it; but, marshal Bouillon, and his favourite chaplain, but above all the electress, his consort, prevailed on him to accept of the offer. This was Elizabeth, daughter of James I. king of Great Britain, a princess endued with many noble and sublime virtues, but perhaps actuated too much by the spirit of ambition. She pressed her husband to accept of the proffered diadem, and he is said to have signed the decree

of

of election with the tears in his eyes. In vain did his father in law king James, the proteſtant electors, and the duke of Bavaria, from a foreſight of the calamities in which he was going to involve himſelf, endeavour to diſſuade him from ſo bold a reſolution. The die was caſt, and he no longer paid any attention but to his wife and to flattering courtiers. Accordingly he ſet out for Prague, where he was crowned king on the twenty-fifth of October the ſame year.

Preparations on both ſides for war.

THE diſputes of Bohemia were now brought to a criſis, the trumpet was ſounded to war, a war of the bloodieſt kind, in ſupport of religion; for religion not only gave riſe to it, but it was openly maintained under that pretext. The houſe of Auſtria perhaps had its own aggrandizement in view, more than the increaſe of the catholic worſhip; yet it cannot be denied that the adviſers and abettors of the war, the Romiſh clergy, were actuated on this occaſion by motives of a religious tendency, thoſe of ſuppreſſing or humbling the proteſtant intereſt: they were ſenſible that their mode of worſhip and the advantages connected with it, could not be more effectually enlarged than by the protection of ſo potent a family; and the emperor on the other hand had no fairer pretext to cover his ambitious deſigns, than that of reſtoring the catholic religion in thoſe provinces, from whence it had been expelled. Both parties had now recourſe to their allies for the ſupport of their reſpective cauſes, and employed their whole attention in making preparations for a vigorous war.

AT this very juncture, the princes of the union of Hall had a meeting at Nurenberg, to which place the emperor ſent deputies, exhorting them to adopt pacific meaſures, and promiſing them moſt ſolemnly that he would ſpeedily redreſs all their grievances. Theſe ſpecious declarations had their effect, for the proteſtant princes would not be perſuaded to concern themſelves directly in the affairs of Bohemia, but were contented with declaring to the new king Frederick, that they would be guarantees of his territories of the Palatinate.

FREDE-

FREDERICK was now obliged to depend chiefly on the fidelity of his new ſubjects, to maintain him on the throne to which they had ſo generouſly raiſed him. The celebrated count Thurn ſignalized his zeal on this occaſion; with the troops he had raiſed in defence of the proteſtant cauſe, he made excurſions all over the kingdom of Bohemia, defeated the Auſtrian parties, and ſcoured the country up to the very gates of Vienna. Theſe ſucceſſes raiſed the ſpirits of the Bohemians, whoſe cauſe began to derive an additional ſtrength from a treaty of confederacy with the ſtates of Sileſia; Moravia ſeemed diſpoſed to follow the example; and the United Provinces promiſed them troops and money. A few princes of the empire were alſo excited by their zeal for the proteſtant cauſe to appear in their defence; but their ſtrength was by no means equal to their magnanimity. Count Hohenloe brought them ſome levies from the duchy of Brunſwick; and the marquis of Jagerndorff ſtrengthened their army with a body of auxiliary troops.

Character of Count Mansfeld.

BUT their chief and moſt vigorous ally was the celebrated Erneſt, a baſtard prince of the illuſtrious houſe of Mansfeld. He had ſignalized his zeal for the houſe of Auſtria, under his brother Charles in Hungary, and under the archduke Leopold in Alſace, and had alſo ſerved the duke of Savoy in the war of the Milaneſe againſt Spain. His abilities, his valour, and important ſervices, had gained him the favour of the emperor Matthias, who had promiſed to legitimate him, that he might be qualified to inherit the eſtates of his family. But theſe promiſes having been eluded through political motives, Erneſt conceived an implacable averſion againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which extending afterwards to the religion profeſſed by that family, he abjured it, and embraced the confeſſion of Augſburg. Pleaſed with the opportunity of revenging his cauſe, and ſhewing his zeal for the religion which he had adopted, he flew to Bohemia upon the firſt breaking out of the troubles; and having, by means of the duke of Savoy's liberality, raiſed a little army of two thouſand men, he joined

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the party of malecontents, and diſplayed a ſignal vigour, and perſeverance in ſupporting the proteſtant cauſe, as well as diſtreſſing the Auſtrian intereſt. At the ſame time the proteſtants of Hungary followed the example of thoſe of Bohemia, and called in Gabriel Bethlem, prince of Tranſylvania, to their aſſiſtance, with a deſign of raiſing him to the throne of that kingdom.

FERDINAND all this while was far from being idle, but uſed every endeavour to ſupport his cauſe by new levies of men, and by the aſſiſtance of his allies. For this purpoſe the catholic league was aſſembled at Wurtzburg, where the deputies of the emperor, and the ſeveral princes and ſtates of that communion, agreed upon means for raiſing a certain number of troops, to enable Ferdinand to reduce the Bohemians. At the ſame time this prince had recourſe to all the neighbouring powers of his own perſuaſion. The pope granted him conſiderable ſums to be raiſed on the clergy, and he was aſſiſted with troops by ſome Italian princes. The king of Spain had already ſupplied him with a ſtrong body of troops, under the command of count Bucquoy, which were of ſingular uſe in protecting the frontiers of Auſtria againſt the incurſions of the Bohemians; but now that prince promiſed to ſend him a farther ſupply of eleven thouſand men, and to make a powerful diverſion in the Palatinate. The grand point was the emperor's gaining over to his intereſt Maximilian duke of Bavaria, head of the catholic league; this he effected by promiſing that prince the electoral dignity, of which he intended to ſtrip king Frederick, together with part of his ſpoils: by ſo important an artifice he divided the two branches of the Palatine family, and ſecured a moſt reſpectable prince in his ſervice.

1520 Diet of Mulhauſen.

AT this critical juncture was held an electoral diet at Mulhauſen, at which the elector of Saxony was the only proteſtant prince that aſſiſted. This aſſembly diſapproved of the conduct of the Bohemians, and promiſed to ſupport Ferdinand II. The proteſtants on this occaſion greatly complained of the elector of Saxony, as having betrayed their cauſe. It is ſaid however, by ſome writers, in his juſtification, that his zeal for the Lutheran

religion was offended by the intolerating principles of the elector Palatine, who would fain have eſtabliſhed Calviniſm upon the ruins of the confeſſion of Augſburg. Beſides, he was apprehenſive leſt the Saxon dukes of the Erneſtine branch might not attempt to recover the electoral dignity, if the houſe of Auſtria, of whom the Albertine branch held it, ſhould happen to be humbled and depreſſed. But perhaps the chief motive of the elector's conduct, was the hope which Ferdinand II. had given him, that the cauſe of Juliers and Cleves ſhould be decided in his favour.

The armies take the field.

Be that as it will, Ferdinand, having finiſhed his military preparations, ordered all his forces from the ſeveral parts of his hereditary dominions to march towards Bohemia, and there to join the troops under the command of count Bucquoy. At the ſame time Maximilian cauſed the army of the catholic league to advance, under the command of count Tilly his lieutenant-general; the troops all joined, and directed their march towards Prague. Frederick, though inferior in forces to the enemy, (for he had not above thirty thouſand men, and the imperialiſts were fifty thouſand) was not at all diſmayed, but went forth to meet them, reſolving to put his Bohemian crown to the hazard of a battle. Both armies were commanded by able and expert generals; the chief of thoſe in the Bohemian army under king Frederick, were the prince of Anhalt, count Manſfeld, and count Thurn; the principal of thoſe in the imperial or Auſtrian army under the duke of Bavaria, were count Bucquoy, and count Tilly, who became afterwards ſo conſpicuous in this memorable war.

Count Tilly, was born of Walloon parents, of a very good family, which had for ſome time figured among the nobleſſe. Being a younger brother, he entered into the ſervice of the duke of Bavaria, and gave early marks of his valour, courage, and genius for the art of war. He roſe intirely by his merit, having paſſed through every ſtage of military life, from a foot ſoldier to the poſt of generaliſſimo. After he had ſignalized himſelf in Hungary againſt the Turks, he had the command of the

Bavarian

Bavarian troops under duke Maximilian, and having done ſignal ſervice to the imperial cauſe during the Bohemian war, he afterwards roſe to be generaliſſimo of the imperial forces. Contrary to the common practice of military commanders, he was a man of excellent morals, but too much bigotted to the Romiſh religion; it is remarkable of him, that he was ſo chaſte as never to have known a woman, ſo temperate as totally to abſtain from wine.

Battle of Prague, and defeat of the Palatine.

And now the two armies drew near to each other, and at length came to an engagement, on the eighth of November, at a place called Weiſſenberg, or the White Mountain, in the neighbourhood of Prague. Frederick, reſolving to ſtand upon the defenſive, took poſſeſſion of a riſing-ground, where he drew up his forces in order of battle; then he rode through the ranks, exhorting the ſoldiers to do their duty, and ordered the gates of Prague to be ſhut, that they might have nothing to truſt to but their own valour. The duke of Bavaria perceiving their excellent order and determined countenances, called a council of war, where the queſtion was carried for attacking the enemy; and count Tilly, who was at the head of the Bavarian horſe, on the left of the firſt line, was ordered to begin the action. He accordingly paſſed a rivulet and moraſs, that covered the right of the Bohemians, and charged them with the utmoſt intrepidity, but met with ſuch a reception as obliged him to retire in great diſorder. Count Bucquoy then advanced with a large reinforcement to ſupport him, and was encountered by Frederick himſelf, who ſuſtained his efforts, and in his turn attacked him with uncommon vigour, ſo that his troops gave way, and fled in great confuſion. Victory would have then declared in favour of the new king, had he been able to reſtrain his men from purſuing the fugitives; but ſo inconſiderate was their ardour, that Bucquoy obſerving the victors as much diſordered as the vanquiſhed, rallied ſome ſquadrons of horſe, and returned to the charge with incredible impetuoſity. So ſtrong a torrent overcame all oppoſition; and Frederick, after the moſt extraordinary efforts of valour, being abandoned by his ſoldiers,

was obliged to retire. At the ſame time the left wing was broke by the duke of Bavaria; and the reſt of the Bohemian army being overwhelmed by numbers, betook themſelves to flight, leaving to the imperialiſts their baggage, cannon, and five thouſand dead upon the field of battle, beſides a great number drowned in the Moldau. Yet the whole action did not laſt above an hour. Frederick, finding it impracticable to rally the wreck of his army, retired into Prague, from whence he departed that ſame night with his wife, children, and moſt valuable effects. The imperialiſts, whoſe loſs is ſaid not to have exceeded five hundred men, encamped under the walls of that city, which ſubmitted to the duke of Bavaria, who ordered the gates to be kept ſhut for ſix hours, to prevent the ringleaders of the revolt from making their eſcape. Accordingly moſt of them were taken, and puniſhed ſome time after with barbarous ſeverity *. The catholic worſhip was reſtored, and the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion ſuppreſſed by imperial authority.

AFTER this memorable battle, Ferdinand's arms were every where crowned with a ſeries of the moſt rapid ſucceſſes. The duke of Bavaria had reduced Bohemia under the obedience of the emperor; the elector of Saxony, who had deſerted the proteſtant intereſt, made himſelf maſter of Luſatia, and count Bucquoy recovered Moravia with incredible expedition. Count Manſfeld ſupported the cauſe for a while in the Upper Palatinate; but ſeeing himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded by an army of twenty-five thouſand men, under count Tilly, he amuſed that general with propoſals of an accommodation, and found means towards the end of the year, to make good his retreat into the Lower Palatinate, which was in extreme danger from the Auſtrian arms. In the mean time Frederick, not thinking himſelf in ſafety, withdrew from Sileſia, leaving the princeſs his conſort at Cuſtrin, where ſhe was delivered of a ſon, named Maurice.

1621. THERE cannot be a livelier repreſentation of a theatrical ſcene, than the fate of this unfortunate prince. Scarce had he mounted

* See Noris, Guerre di Germania, p. 181.

a throne,

a throne, when he was obliged to deſcend it. Crowned and depoſed almoſt the ſame day, he ſaw his whole glory vaniſh like a dream, and he was inſtantly obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in foreign countries, as if he had wielded the ſcepter, only to exhibit the melancholy ſpectacle of a dethroned and fugitive monarch. He repaired firſt to Denmark, where the king received him with open arms. There he made but a ſhort ſtay, and finding all negotiations ineffectual, he retired to Holland. Moſt of the princes his confederates deſerted him in his diſtreſs, and even the prince of Anhalt himſelf, who commanded his army, entered into the emperor's ſervice; the gallant count Manſfeld alone continued faithful to him to the very laſt *.

CHAP. III.

WAR of the PALATINATE.

The elector Palatine put under the bann of the empire. Spinola attacks the Palatinate. Conduct of king James I. Mediation of the kings of France and England. Tilly's ſucceſs in the Palatinate. Chriſtian of Brunſwick, and the marquis of Baden Dourlach eſpouſe the cauſe of the elector Palatine. Battle of Mingelheim. Battle of Wimpfen. Battle of Hoechſt. Battle of Flerus. The Palatinate intirely reduced. Negotiations of king James. The electoral dignity transferred to the duke of Bavaria.

PRINCES intoxicated with ſucceſs are apt to forget the inconſtancy of fortune; and thence it follows that they frequently make a very imprudent uſe of their victories. The emperor, elated with the advantage he had gained in the late battle before Prague, gave way to his reſentment againſt the elector palatine, and

The elector Palatine put under the bann of the empire. 1621.

* Heſſe, Barre, Bougeant, Pfeffel.

bolting

bolting out his thunder put that unfortunate prince and all his confederates under the ban of the empire. By an edict iſſued out on the 21ſt of January, he declared Frederick to be diveſted of all his dominions, as well as of the electoral dignity: at the ſame time he proſcribed the other princes his adherents, and commiſſioned Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, to execute this decree, promiſing to inveſt him with the territories and dignities forfeited by Frederick. In order likewiſe to give a convincing proof of his gratitude to the elector of Saxony, he made him a preſent of Luſatia, as a reward for having reduced the malcontents in Sileſia.

Spinola attacks the Palatinate.

THE imperialiſts having diſpoſſeſſed Frederick of the kingdom of Bohemia and the Upper Palatinate, Spinola the Spaniſh general in the Low Countries was employed in executing the imperial ban in the Lower Palatinate; in conſequence of which that unfortunate prince was to be ſtripped of all his dominions. So violent a proceeding began to alarm all Europe, and eſpecially the ſtates of Germany, who could not but with great jealouſy ſee the emperor lording it with ſo high a hand, and proſcribing a moſt reſpectable prince, without conſulting the electoral college, as he was obliged to do by his capitulation. Beſides, Frederick had committed no crime againſt Ferdinand II. as emperor; and it was reckoned a moſt extraordinary ſtep that a diſpute between that prince and the houſe of Auſtria ſhould be puniſhed by an imperial proſcription. It could therefore have been wiſhed, for the happineſs of Europe, that Ferdinand had contented himſelf with recovering what he conſidered as his own patrimony, and not have attempted to uſurp the dominions belonging to his rival. The king of England, the king of Denmark, and ſeveral other princes, endeavoured to inſpire him with ſentiments of moderation and forgiveneſs; had he liſtened to their counſels, the flames of war would have ſpread no farther, and the empire would have been reſtored to its priſtine tranquillity. But if we may judge from the conduct which Ferdinand obſerved after his victory, the conqueſt of Bohemia was only a ſtep towards executing a project of a vaſter extent, that of making himſelf abſolute maſ-

ter of Germany, by ſubduing and diſarming thoſe princes, who were likely to ſet bounds to his ambition. No ſooner therefore were the flames of war ſtifled in Bohemia, but they broke out again in the other provinces with all the horrors attending that fatal ſcourge; and on this new ſtage freſh actors made their appearance, ſome of whom diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their victories, and others by their defeats *.

1622. Conduct of king James I.

But before we enter into an account of theſe tranſactions, it will be proper to take a view of the conduct of king James I. on this occaſion, who, being Frederick's father-in-law, was by the ties of nature intereſted in preventing that prince and his only daughter Elizabeth, from being ſtripped of their hereditary dominions.

At that time king James was unhappily engaged in a negotiation with the court of Spain, for marrying his only ſon the prince of Wales to the Infanta Maria. This was his darling ſcheme, to which he ſacrificed his own glory and the welfare and ſecurity of his children. The king of Spain being intereſted in behalf of the younger branch of the houſe of Auſtria, then upon the imperial throne, uſed all his artifice at the very beginning of the troubles to diſſuade the king of England from declaring in favour of the German proteſtants. James, who piqued himſelf upon the title of the Pacific King, ſent the lord Hay, lately created viſcount Doncaſter, to mediate a pacification in the empire; but Ferdinand would ſcarce favour him with an audience, and the embaſſy produced no effect. Upon hearing of the election of Frederick to the crown of Bohemia, James aſſembled his council to deliberate upon the ſubject, and they were of opinion that the king ſhould exhort his ſon-in-law to refuſe the crown of Bohemia. Moſt probably they had been influenced by the ſentiments of their monarch, who had ſo very high an idea of the rights of kings, that he concluded ſubjects muſt ever be in the wrong, when they ſtood in oppoſition to thoſe who were inveſted with regal authority. As it was a ſettled principle with him not to patronize the revolt of ſub-

* Barre, Bougeant, Heſſe, Struv.

jects,

jects, he from the very firſt denied to Frederick the title of king of Bohemia, and by his ambaſſadors in foreign courts diſavowed the conduct of his ſon-in-law. He even attempted to perſuade him to renounce the crown, and with that view had ſent two ambaſſadors, Richard Weſton and Sir Edward Conway, to Prague; but his admonitions were of no avail. King James however ſeemed determined not to draw his ſword in the quarrel, but to leave the elector to his own fate, leſt his oppoſition to the houſe of Auſtria might prejudice the wiſhed-for match between his ſon and the infanta. The court of Madrid did not fail to encourage James in his pacific diſpoſition, and to amuſe him at the ſame time with vain pretences. Thus the king perſiſted in his neutrality, even after intelligence had been received of the proſcription of his ſon-in-law, and Spinola's deſign to attack the Palatinate, which was left bare of troops, Frederick having drawn from thence ten thouſand men for the Bohemian war. The truce between Spain and the United Provinces not being yet expired, the king of Spain thought this a proper opportunity to make a diverſion in favour of the emperor, by invading the Palatinate with an army of twenty-ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. James on that occaſion contented himſelf with ordering Sir Thomas Edmonds, his ambaſſador at Bruſſels, to demand of the archduke Albert, the meaning of the military preparations in the Netherlands. The archduke made anſwer, that the orders for this armament had been tranſmitted to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the ſecret of its deſtination. Spinola again told the miniſter, that his orders were ſtill ſealed, and if Edmonds would accompany him in his march to Coblentz, he would there open them, and give him full ſatisfaction. The deſign was ſo palpable, that the people in England began to exclaim againſt the king's indolence and inſenſibility for his ſon-in-law, his daughter and her family. The whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel, when they reflected on the oppreſſions and diſtreſſes of their proteſtant brethren in Germany. Beſides they were at that time ſincerely attached to the blood of

their

their monarch, and conſidered the proſcription of his ſon-in-law, not only as unjuſt in itſelf, but as an ignominy to the Engliſh nation. The king was therefore prevailed upon, at length, by much perſuaſion, to allow one regiment of two thouſand four hundred men to be raiſed for the ſervice of the elector Palatine, which was done moſtly at the charge of ſome lords. It was commanded by Sir Horatio Vere, who had long ſerved in Holland with great reputation; and the earls of Oxford and Eſſex accompanied him, each commanding a company of gentlemen volunteers. They were tranſported to Holland, paſſed the Rhine below Wezel, and were eſcorted to Frankfort by a body of troops under prince Frederick Henry of Naſſau. The dukes of Mecklenburg at this time were upon good terms with the emperor, for hearing of the march of the Britiſh forces, they ſummoned all the gentry and nobility of the country, with their reſpective vaſſals, to appear in arms in the neighbourhood of Domitz, where they pitched their camp, intending to prevent any foreign troops from croſſing the Elbe. The Engliſh however gave them no trouble, but directed their march to the Palatinate, and on the firſt of October joined Frederick's allies, who had now aſſembled a little army in that country, commanded by the margrave of Anſpach *.

Mediation of the kings of France and England.

WHILE hoſtilities were ready to break out in the Palatinate, the king of France had ſent to the emperor, and ſeveral German princes, the duke of Angouleme, the duke of Bethune, and M. Des Preaux, to endeavour to appeaſe the troubles of the empire. King James had likewiſe diſpatched Sir Henry Wotton on the ſame errand; who, after he had viſited ſeveral of the princes of Germany, arrived at Vienna, where he preſented ſome propoſals, in the name of his maſter, to which Ferdinand paid but little regard. King James really believed there was no other way to ſave the Palatinate, than to preſerve a good underſtanding with the emperor and the king of Spain, by ſtanding neuter, and interpoſing only as a mediator.

* Rapin, Hume.

He declared, however, to his council, that if his inſtances were rejected, he would have recourſe to arms at laſt; which he never intended, but gave it out as a pretence to get money from his parliament.

Tilly's ſucceſs in the Palatinate.

THE Palatinate being almoſt deſtitute of troops, Spinola found it an eaſy matter to carry on his conqueſts, the few Engliſh under Sir Horatio Vere being unable to ſtop his progreſs. On the ſecond of Auguſt, 1620, a five weeks truce was concluded at Haguenau, which the archduke Albert made king James believe to have been agreed to upon his account, whereas it was to give the emperor an opportunity of replacing the forces which Spinola was leading back to the Netherlands, in conſequence of the expiration of the twelve years truce between Spain and Holland. The few Spaniſh troops remaining in the Palatinate, were under the command of Gonzalez de Cordova; but that general having ſoon received very conſiderable reinforcements, Vere was forced to retire to Worms, and from thence to Frankendal. The Spaniſh general having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral other towns, laid ſiege to Frankendal in the month of October. To ſave this important place, count Mansfeld was called away from the Upper Palatinate, and upon that hero's approach Gonzalez raiſed the ſiege. But count Tilly being now inveſted with the command of the imperial and Bavarian forces, followed count Mansfeld into the Palatinate, and by the ſuperiority of his army obliged him to retire into Alſace. Thus the campaign of 1621 ended with the loſs of all the Lower Palatinate, except Manheim, Heidelberg, and Frankendal. Vere commanded in Frankendal, Herbert in Manheim, and Burroughs in Heidelberg.

IN this ſituation of affairs king James renewed his negotiations with the emperor, and with the archduchеſs Iſabella, in hopes of concluding an accommodation, or at leaſt a ſuſpenſion of arms, in favour of his ſon-in-law. But the elector Palatine, finding all negotiations ineffectual, and that the king was duped, determined to make a laſt puſh for the recovery of his dominions. Commiſeration for his misfortunes had raiſed

him two new friends and allies, duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick, and the marquis of Baden Dourlach.

Duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick, and the marquis of Baden Dourlach, eſpouſe the cauſe of the elector Palatine.

Duke Chriſtian, from the impetuoſity of his temper, was commonly called the *Furious*; but he ſtyled himſelf *the Friend of God, and the Enemy of Prieſts*. He was apprehenſive that, if the catholic party prevailed, he ſhould be ſtriped of the biſhoprick of Halberſtadt, then in his poſſeſſion. This induced him to declare in favour of Frederick; and with ſo much warmth did he eſpouſe that prince's cauſe, that, upon paying a viſit to the electreſs Elizabeth, conſort to Frederick, he pulled off his glove in a fit of gallantry, and tied it to his hat, as a badge of his engaging to defend that diſtreſſed lady, ſwearing he would either periſh, or reſtore her oppreſſed huſband to his hereditary dominions. He ſoon found means to raiſe a conſiderable army, with which he did an infinite deal of miſchief to the country, without being of great ſervice to his friend the Palatine. He was a general of much the ſame character as count Manſfeld, active and vigorous in the higheſt degree, fertile in reſources, and well ſkilled in the art of maintaining an army without pay, by plundering the enemy's territory. As he was obliged to ſuffer his troops to live at diſcretion, great cruelties and outrages muſt have been committed by ſo irregular an army. The complaints therefore of the catholic party againſt duke Chriſtian and count Mansfeld, are not perhaps exaggerated, when we conſider the licentiouſneſs of ſoldiers, excited by avarice, and reſtrained by no ſort of diſcipline *. The like complaints were made by the proteſtants of Lower Saxony, againſt the imperial troops, at whoſe rapacity their generals, and eſpecially Walſtein, but too often connived, ſuffering it to paſs with impunity. It would fill a large volume, to

* Hence it is that Waſſenberg, ſpeaking of count Mansfeld, calls him *Magnum belli ducem, niſi probatæ militiæ virtutem incendiis & rapinis corrupiſſet.* And when he mentions duke Chriſtian, he makes uſe of theſe ſevere expreſſions, *Chriſtianus quodam diluvio ſcelerum Weſtphaliam inundabat. Nihil enim illius præter rapinas, cædes, ſtupra, inceſtus, ſacrilegia egit exercitus, plane quaſi non cum Cæſare, ſed virtute bellum ſuſcepiſſet. Tunc illæ toto orbe execrandæ pecuniarum extorſiones, ſacerdotum mutilationes,* &c.

deſcribe the cruelties committed by thoſe ſoldiers in the duchy of Mecklenburg alone; but I ſhall wave entering into ſuch details, that were attended with circumſtances ſo ſhocking to humanity.

GEORGE FREDERICK, marquis of Baden Dourlach, eſpouſed the cauſe of Frederick, through reſentment againſt the emperor Ferdinand, for having adjudged the moiety of the marquiſate of Baden to the marquis William, ſon of Edmund the Fortunate, and a prince of the catholic religion. Having reſigned the care of his dominions to his eldeſt ſon, he with great expedition raiſed a ſtrong body of troops, with a deſign to join count Mansfeld, who had now with his little army retired to the Palatinate, in hopes of ſaving that country from falling a prey to the enemy. But fortune, or rather the marquis's own imprudence, prevented this junction. Count Tilly, as we have already obſerved, purſued Mansfeld into the Palatinate, and came up with him at length in the neighbourhood of the village of Mingelſheim. The elector Palatine, who had retired from Denmark to Holland, expecting a turn of fortune in his favour, had joined count Mansfeld, with whom he paſſed the Rhine, in order to attack count Tilly. This general was encamped in the front of a foreſt, near Wiſſeloch, with a view of preventing their junction with the marquis of Baden Dourlach; Mansfeld, in order to drive the imperialiſts from this advantageous poſt, contrived an ambuſcade, which ſucceeded to his expectation. He ſet fire to the village, behind which, by means of the ſmoke, he rallied his troops, which had been ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, before whom they pretended to fly. Tilly having purſued them to the village, Mansfeld appeared upon the flank of the imperialiſts, plied them with his artillery, and attacked them with ſuch fury that they were entirely defeated. But Mansfeld did not make a proper uſe of his victory; for, inſtead of purſuing the enemy, he undertook the ſiege of Lademburg, which gave time for Tilly to rally his troops.

Battle of Mingelſheim.

THE

THE marquis of Baden Dourlach no ſooner received the news of this victory, than looking upon this as a proper opportunity to ſignalize his proweſs, inſtead of joining Mansfeld, according to the advice and deſign of the elector Palatine, he marched directly towards Tilly, who was poſted between Wimpfen and Hailbrun, in Suabia, in hopes of bringing on a ſecond engagement. The imperial general being now reinforced by ſome Spaniſh regiments, under the command of Gonzalez de Cordova, did not decline the challenge; and a battle enſued, which began with equal fury on both ſides, and at firſt the marquis had ſome advantage: but at length Tilly, after having ſuſtained ſeveral repulſes, broke his main body, and obtained a complete victory; the marquis loſt all his cannon and baggage, with two thouſand men, and found great difficulty to eſcape to Mansfeld with a ſmall party of horſe. Battle of Wimpfen, May 7.

MANSFELD was fully employed in the ſiege of Lademburg, which he at laſt took by aſſault, and put all the garriſon to the ſword: then paſſing the Rhine with the elector Palatine, he obliged the archduke Leopold to raiſe the ſiege of Haguenau. He afterwards laid waſte the biſhoprick of Spire, and paſſing the river again, he defeated the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, and took him priſoner. But his progreſs was ſoon checked by Tilly, who, being conſiderably reinforced, advanced with his light cavalry, and attacking Mansfeld's rear, obliged him to retire with conſiderable loſs into the foreſt of Lorche, from whence he marched to the Palatinate in great diſorder, altogether deſtitute of money and proviſions.

FREDERICK, having now no other reſource, wrote to Chriſtian duke of Brunſwick, to come and join him with his troops. That prince had ſubſiſted his army by plundering the catholic biſhopricks of Munſter and Paderborn, without ſparing even the churches; and now, in compliance with the elector's requeſt, he was preparing to join Mansfeld with all his forces, in order to repair the loſs ſuſtained by the marquis of Baden Dourlach. But Tilly ſtopped him on his march, at the village of Hoechſt, on the Maine, where a battle enſued, which was for a long time Battle of Hoechſt.

time fought with equal courage on both ſides; but victory at length declared in Tilly's favour: Chriſtian was intirely defeated, and with great difficulty eſcaped with five troops of horſe to Benfeld, whether count Mansfeld had advanced to join him.

The elector Palatine diſbands his army.

THE defeat of this prince gave the finiſhing ſtroke to Frederick's party. The marquis of Dourlach, diſheartened at ſo many diſaſters, diſbanded his troops, and retired to Hocheberg; while the elector, count Mansfeld, and duke Chriſtian, retreated to Straſburg, where they were hoſpitably received. Frederick, quite mortified with ſuch a ſeries of unproſperous ſtrokes of fortune, gave ear to the exhortations of the kings of England and Denmark, who adviſed him to lay down his arms, in order to facilitate the negotiation, which was then carrying on in his favour at Bruſſels. For the emperor had conſtantly declared to the above princes, that the elector Palatine could expect no favour, while he retained in his ſervice proſcribed partizans, meaning Mansfeld and Chriſtian, who had laid waſte whole provinces, in contempt of the laws and conſtitution of the empire. Truſting to this advice, the unhappy elector complied with the advice of his father-in-law, and, in an evil hour, depriving himſelf of the aſſiſtance of thoſe two enterprizing commanders, he retired to Sedan, the reſidence of his uncle, the marſhal de Bouillon. This was one of the moſt imprudent ſteps he had ever taken, being diametrically oppoſite to the policy of all princes, who, in order to facilitate a peace, never fail to increaſe their preparations for war.

Battle of Flerus.

THE duke of Brunſwick and count Mansfeld, not chuſing to lead an inactive life, offered their ſervice and their troops to the ſtates general of the United Provinces. Their propoſals were favourably accepted; but, as they were marching through the duchy of Luxemburg, to relieve Bergen-op-zoom, then beſieged by Spinola, they were attacked by Gonzalez of Cordova, at Flerus, in the county of Namur, where they loſt three thouſand men, and the duke of Brunſwick his left arm. Mansfeld, however, continued his march with all diligence,

diligence, leaving his baggage by the way, and arrived in time to raiſe the ſiege of Bergen-op-zoom; from whence thoſe two gallant commanders returned afterwards to East Friſeland.

The Palatinate intirely reduced.

TILLY loſt no time in availing himſelf of his advantages, and ſoon completed the conqueſt of the Palatinate. He made himſelf maſter of the city of Manheim, commanded by Sir Horatio Vere; and took and plundered the caſtle of Heidelberg, where Sir Gerard Herbert was governor; this gallant officer had the misfortune to be ſlain, after breaking three pikes with his own hands, in repulſing the enemy. The famous library of the elector, the beſt choſen, and the largeſt in all Germany, was ſent to the duke of Bavaria, who kept a part of the books for his own uſe, and made a preſent of the reſt to the pope, who depoſited them in the Vatican at Rome. The Germans to this day regret the loſs of a great number of manuſcripts, and other pieces relative to their public law, which on this occaſion went into foreign hands *.

Negotiations of king James.

KING James had ſtill inflexibly adhered to his ſyſtem of neutrality, and to the ſcheme of the Spaniſh match, by which he hoped, eaſier than by force of arms, to recover the Palatinate for the unfortunate Frederick. He had been hitherto cajoled by ſpecious declarations from the king of Spain, that the emperor was diſpoſed to conclude a peace upon equitable terms with the Palatine. In this expectation he had diſpatched the lord Digby to Vienna, as his ambaſſador, to demand, that the imperial bann againſt the elector Palatine ſhould be revoked, and Frederick re-eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions; in which caſe the king would oblige his ſon-in-law to make ſuitable ſubmiſſion. Ferdinand profeſſed the utmoſt veneration for the king of England, declaring that all he deſired was juſt ſatisfaction for the injuries he had received; but as he had undertaken the war with the advice and aſſiſtance of ſeveral princes, without their conſent he could not take any material

* Barre, Pfeffel, Heſſe, Spanheim, Beeher.

reſolution;

reſolution; but he had ſummoned, a diet at Ratiſbon, the reſult of whoſe determinations he would impart to the king of England. Such was the iſſue of lord Digby's famous embaſſy; the king's applications in favour of his ſon-in-law, were openly eluded by the emperor, and, though lord Digby returned to England without the leaſt ſucceſs, yet that weak prince was ſo infatuated with the Spaniſh match, that he ſtill flattered himſelf with the hopes of obtaining ſome favourable terms for his ſon-in-law. Conferences had been held at Bruſſels to procure a truce, but proved of no effect; the king of Spain, however, perceiving that king James would not be much longer amuſed by artifices, but might perhaps be obliged to ſupport the Palatine effectually, reſolved to ſhew ſome condeſcenſion to the Engliſh monarch. He therefore wrote to the archdutcheſs, deſiring ſhe would order general Tilly to raiſe the ſiege of Frankendal, and renew the congreſs for a truce at London, where it was accordingly concluded for eighteen months, on condition, that Frankendal ſhould be put into the hands of the infanta Iſabella, who ſhould reſtore it at the expiration of the truce to the Engliſh; and that the elector Palatine ſhould renounce all connexion with the prince of Brunſwick and count Mansfeld. This was quite a nugatory treaty, and of no ſort of uſe to the elector Palatine. Such was the effect of king James's tedious negotiations with the court of Spain, when the proteſtant religion was rooted out of Bohemia, the liberty of Germany overthrown, and, to crown all king James's diſgraces, the electoral dignity transferred from his ſon-in-law's family, by the final ſentence pronounced this year at the diet of Ratiſbon *.

1623. The electoral dignity transferred to the duke of Bavaria.

THE torrent of the imperial arms having broke down all oppoſition, Ferdinand convened a diet at Ratiſbon, which was far from being a general aſſembly, but only a meeting of the electors, and a few princes devoted to his will. There he declared his reſolution of transferring the electoral dignity from the Palatine branch to the duke of Bavaria, in conſideration of that

* Rapin, Barre.

prince's

prince's great ſervices during the late war. The oppoſition of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the repreſentations of the Palatines of Neuburg produced no effect; the eccleſiaſtical electors, and the catholic princes had conſented to the tranſaction: Ferdinand pronounced in favour of a plurality of votes, and ſolemnly, and, from the plenitude of his power, inveſted the duke of Bavaria with the fifth electorate, which had been forfeited by the unfortunate Frederick. At the ſame he made a grant of Luſatia to the elector of Saxony, for the ſums he had expended in the war; and transferred the property of the Upper Palatinate to the new elector of Bavaria*.

Such was the unhappy iſſue of the Bohemian war: the houſe of Auſtria thereby gained a ſuperiority which alarmed all Europe. During a courſe of ten years every thing yielded to her arms. Ferdinand II. ſeemed to have fixed a power in his family, which nothing could ſhake; Turkey, either vanquiſhed by his arms, or lulled to ſleep by his politics, ceaſed to diſturb his frontiers; Hungary, after vain efforts under Gabriel Bethlem to recover her privileges, was relapſed into more abject ſlavery; and Bohemia reduced to its laſt gaſp, ſince the battle of Prague, lay at the conqueror's mercy: the catholics of Germany, creeping under the emperor's feet, were like ſo many ſlaves, whoſe arms aſſiſted him to bind the oppoſite party in chains: and as for the proteſtant princes, ſome were proſcribed, and deprived even of the hopes of ever returning from their exile; while others ſcarce dared to ſigh for their expiring liberty, or to weep over the wounds of their bleeding country.

* Barre, Khevenhuller, Pfeffel, Heiſſe.

CHAP. IV.

The WAR with DENMARK, and the CIRCLE of LOWER SAXONY.

Confederacy of the ſtates of Lower Saxony. Duke Chriſtian defeated at Statlo. Alliance of the ſeveral powers againſt the houſe of Auſtria. Unfortunate expedition of the Engliſh under count Mansfeld. Chriſtian, king of Denmark, made chief commander of the circle of Lower Saxony. Character of count Walſtein. Operations of the Daniſh and Imperial armies. Count Mansfeld defeated at Deſſau. Farther adventures, and death of count Mansfeld. Death of Chriſtian duke of Brunſwick. Operations of count Tilly. Battle of Lutter, and the Danes defeated. Tilly drives the king of Denmark out of Germany. The latter rejects the conditions propoſed by the emperor.

Confederacy of the ſtates of Lower Saxony.

IN this melancholy ſituation of affairs the diſtant provinces of the empire, which had not yet felt the calamities of war, began to be extremely alarmed, leſt it ſhould ſpread its deſtructive influence, and unhappily involve them in the general contagion. The circle of Lower Saxony, in particular, was under the greateſt conſternation, on account of the gallant efforts of duke Chriſtian and count Mansfeld, in favour of the Palatine's expiring cauſe. This ſpread the war to the northern parts of Germany, where the imperialiſts carried their arms in ſearch of thoſe two princes, who, perhaps, were not particularly aimed at, for they had nothing to loſe; but it was a ſpecious opportunity for oppreſſing this circle, and ſubverting the proteſtant religion. The princes of Lower Saxony, being ſenſible of Ferdinand's ambitious deſigns,

entered into a confederacy, chiefly encouraged by Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, as duke of Holſtein, for the defence of their civil and religious liberties. On this occaſion Chriſtian, duke of Brunſwick, was declared general of their forces. Moved by a patriotic zeal, the dukes of Mecklenburg joined in the confederacy, conſidering it as a meaſure not at all contrary to the conſtitution of the empire, and only a renewal of an alliance of the ſame nature, which they had concluded in 1614, for their mutual guaranty and defence *. 1623.

Soon after the concluding of this treaty, the king of England, having broke off the Spaniſh match, reſolved, with the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to adopt vigorous meaſures, in hopes of reſtoring his ſon-in-law to his hereditary dominions. With this view he ſent ſome ſuccours in men and money to count Mansfeld and duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick, who, being determined to renew the war, went from Holland to Friſeland and Weſtphalia, where they ſubſiſted their army by plunder. But Chriſtian ſoon after parted with Mansfeld, in order to take upon him the command of the troops belonging to the circle of Lower Saxony. Upon this the emperor gave orders to count Tilly to approach the Weſer, with a view of obſerving the motions of the princes of that circle. Intimidated by this ſtep, the ſtates of Lower Saxony obliged duke Chriſtian to withdraw from their frontiers; ſo that this prince found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning with all ſpeed to join count Manſfeld in Eaſt Friſeland. In his paſſage he laid waſte the country with fire and ſword, but Tilly and the count of Anholt at length came up with him on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, at a ſmall diſtance from Statlo, in the biſhoprick of Munſter. Here a bloody battle enſued, in which, after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, duke Chriſtian was entirely defeated, all his baggage loſt, and the whole army diſperſed. After this misfortune he made his eſcape to Holland, whither he was ſoon followed by count Mansfeld, who, finding himſelf too weak to withſtand the imperial forces, retired from Friſeland to the United Provinces, 1624. Duke Chriſtian defeated at Statlo.

* Beehr, Buckholtz, Pfeffel, Barre.

with the few ſhattered troops under his command. The ſtates general took a part of theſe into their pay, and diſmiſſed the reſt.

Alliance of ſeveral powers againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

SUCH a ſeries of ſucceſſes in favour of the emperor Ferdinand could not but give umbrage to all the neighbouring powers. The kings of France, England, Denmark, the duke of Savoy, and the republics of Venice and Holland, concluded a treaty at Paris for humbling the houſe of Auſtria, and reſtoring the elector Palatine to his hereditary dominions. The religious diſturbances in France prevented Lewis XIII. from turning his arms towards Germany. But king James began to exert himſelf with vigour in behalf of his ſon-in-law. The gallant count Mansfeld, after his retreat from Eaſt Friſeland, had paid a viſit to England, where he met with a very honourable reception, and James agreed that he ſhould have twelve thouſand men from England, to make a diverſion in the Palatinate. This body being levied, the king demanded of the infanta Iſabella the town of Frankendal, according to the treaty of truce, and a free paſſage for the Engliſh garriſon through the dominions of Spain and its allies. The infanta declared that ſhe was ready to deliver up Frankendal, and that a paſſage ſhould be granted for the Engliſh troops through her territories, and thoſe of the king of Spain; but that ſhe could not anſwer for their paſſing unmoleſted through the dominions of the empire. When the truce expired, the governor of Frankendal marched out of the place with his garriſon; but no Britiſh forces appearing, he immediately returned, and retook poſſeſſion of the town. The troops deſtined for the ſervice of Mansfeld, were embarked in the ſevere ſeaſon of the year, and the French would not ſuffer them to land at Calais. Mansfeld then ſet ſail for Zealand, where he met with the ſame repulſe. A negotiation was ſet on foot, but before he could obtain permiſſion to land, two thirds of his army were deſtroyed by an epidemical diſorder; and the remainder either deſerted, or enliſted among their countrymen, who were in the ſervice of the ſtates. Such was the iſſue of this laſt attempt of king James, in favour of his unfortunate

Unfortunate expedition of the Engliſh under count Manſfeld.

fortunate ſon-in-law; the miſcarriage was owing to his own weakneſs, of which he had given but too many proofs during his whole reign. He died the next year, and in his laſt hours recommended the poor Palatine's cauſe to his ſon and ſucceſſor Charles I *.

1625. Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, made general of the forces of Lower Saxony.

The public danger ſtill increaſing, the ſtates of Lower Saxony had another meeting at Siegeberg, where their confederacy was confirmed, and the chief command given to Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, as duke of Holſtein. The dukes of Brunſwick and Mecklenburg were the principal authors of this reſolution, in defence of the common cauſe of liberty and religion. The king of Denmark diſplayed great zeal on the occaſion, and promiſed to ſerve the circle to the utmoſt of his abilities. This prince was in the flower of life, full of courage and reſolution, zealous for the proteſtant religion, and a warm advocate for the reſtoration of the elector Palatine, whoſe ſiſter he had married. He had been offended with the court of Vienna, for raiſing the counts of Schaumburg, the ancient poſſeſſors of Holſtein, to the dignity of princes of the empire; he had likewiſe hopes of procuring for the younger branch of his family, the archbiſhoprick of Bremen, with the ſees of Verden and Minden. Thus, actuated by two powerful incentives, hope and reſentment, he embarked in the ſame cauſe with the princes of Lower Saxony †,

* Rapin, Hume, Barre.

† In this confederacy there was nothing contrary to the conſtitution of the empire; and if the imperialiſts had not given occaſion to it, by purſuing the Palatine's adherents into the circle of Lower Saxony, and committing divers ravages under that pretence, the princes would never have thought of forming ſuch an alliance; eſpecially the dukes of Mecklenburg, who had refuſed a paſſage to the Engliſh auxiliaries, deſtined for king Frederick. George, duke of Lunneburg, ſeems to have been the only prince of any conſequence in the circle, that did not accede to the alliance; he was probably diſſatisfied with the great power conferred on king Chriſtian, looking upon himſelf as better qualified for the chief command. Others pretend, that he was apprehenſive leſt king Chriſtian might prevent his ſucceeding to the poſſeſſions of duke Ulric of Brunſwick, who had no heirs. Whether it was on this account, or for ſome other reaſon, duke George, in this quarrel, ſided with the emperor.

who

who were highly incenſed at ſeeing their territories oppreſſed by an imperial army, under the pretence of preſerving the tranquillity of the province.

The king of Denmark, being now joined by the forces of the circle, had formed a powerful army on the banks of the Weſer. The emperor, on the other hand, made all the neceſſary preparations for repelling this effort of a new and formidable enemy. The forces of the catholic league, under the command of count Tilly, would perhaps have been ſufficient to beat the whole weight of the war; but Ferdinand, acting with the utmoſt circumſpection, and truſting as little as poſſible to fortune, aſſembled another army, the command of which he gave to count Walſtein, whom he had lately created duke of Friedland. But as this general makes ſo great a figure in this war, and particularly on the theatre of Mecklenburg, it will be proper to give the reader an idea of his perſon and character.

Character of count Walſtein.

Count Walstein, or more properly Waldſtein, was of a noble family of Bohemia, ſtill exiſting in that kingdom, with the title of count. His chriſtian name was Albert Wenceſlaus Euſebius. His parents, being of the confeſſion of Augſburg, bred up their ſon in that religion; and ſent him to the univerſity of Altorff, where he affected the character of a duelliſt; and ſhewed a diſlike to all literature and private tutors: his father thereupon placed him as a companion with the children of the marquis of Burgau, ſon of Ferdinand, archduke of Auſtria. Happening one day to ſit at a family ſermon, he fell aſleep, and tumbled out of a very high window; but as he received no hurt, the prieſts ſuggeſted to him, that he might certainly expect ſome very great turn of fortune in his favour, would he but embrace the Roman Catholic religion. His vaſt ambition, and total want of ſound principles, eaſily induced him to follow their advice. He then made the tour of France, Holland, England, and Italy, where judicial aſtrology became his favourite amuſement. Upon his return from his travels, he married a rich Bohemian widow, by whom he had no children; ſhe grew jealous of him, and he is ſuppoſed to have ſuffered conſiderably from the

the effects of a philtre which had been adminiſtred to him by the incenſed lady. She died not long after, when he became maſter of her whole fortune; and, upon the breaking out of the war between the houſe of Auſtria and the republic of Venice, he raiſed a regiment at his own expence for the ſervice of the archduke. Having behaved with great reputation, he was created a baron by the emperor. We find him ſoon after in the imperial ſervice in Hungary, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour, and was rewarded with the government of Moravia. In the beginning of the Bohemian troubles, the proteſtants fixed their eyes principally upon Walſtein, thinking him ſtill inclined to their party; but he had attached himſelf to the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria. He joined Bucquoy, the imperial general, with five thouſand Moravians; and during the Bohemian war, acted againſt the Palatine with the utmoſt ability and vigour. In 1621, he defeated a part of Gabriel Bethlem's army in Moravia; and ſoon after repairing to Vienna, he married a daughter of count Harrach, grand marechal of the emperor's court, a lady of immenſe fortune, and poſſeſſed of great beauty and virtue. From that time, he roſe apace in military honours; and his zeal and abilities being fully tried, he was created duke of Friedland and Sagan, and now appointed commander in chief of the army deſtined to aſſiſt count Tilly againſt the king of Denmark.

Operations of the Daniſh and Imperial armies.

The war began as uſual with manifeſtos and writings on both ſides. The king of Denmark and the princes of his party proteſted they had no other deſign but to act upon the defenſive, and to prevent the violences committed by the imperial troops in the circle of Lower Saxony. Count Tilly ſummoned the king of Denmark, and his adherents to lay down their arms, and not to cauſe any new diſturbances in the empire. The king, however, advanced with his army towards the Weſer, and made himſelf maſter of Minden; from whence he proceeded to Hammelen, which he alſo took; but viſiting the fortifications on horſeback, he had the misfortune of falling from the ramparts into the ditch; his life was deſpaired of for three days, but he recovered

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ſoon after, to the great joy of the confederacy. This accident, however was followed by the loſs of Hamelen, Minden, and ſome other places, which the Daniſh officers abandoned to count Tilly, retiring to the duchy of Verden, till the king was again able to mount on horſeback. Here alſo they waited for the arrival of count Mansfeld, who was on his march to join the king with a reinforcement of twelve thouſand men, which he had lately, by incredible diligence and ability, raiſed in the biſhopric of Bremen and the neighbouroood of Hamburg. Tilly in the mean time purſued the Daniſh army, and in divers ſkirmiſhes came off with the advantage; but he acquired a conſiderable ſuperiority as ſoon as he was joined by general Walſtein in the duchy of Brunſwick. The imperial generals, confiding in the goodneſs of their troops, would fain have come to a general engagement; but this the king of Denmark declined, knowing that his army conſiſted chiefly of new levies. In order, therefore, to avoid a general action, he divided his forces into three different corps, expecting he ſhould oblige the enemy to follow his example. The dukes of Brunſwick and Weimar were directed to carry on the war on the hither ſide of the Weſer, in the Catholic ſtates of Weſtphalia, while count Mansfeld was to croſs the Elbe, and then to march into Sileſia, where he was to ſtir up the inhabitants to a revolt, and to ſecond the operations of Gabriel Bethlem. This prince had again taken up arms on occaſion of the coronation of Ferdinand III. whom his father had cauſed to be acknowledged as king of Hungary. Between thoſe two armies, and alſo between the Elbe and the Weſer, the king of Denmark was to act in the biſhopric of Hildeſheim with the greateſt part of his forces. This was a well concerted plan, and would have probably ſucceeded, if ſucceſs always depended on human prudence.

1626. Mansfeld defeated at Deſſau.

The duke of Weimar marched his troops into Weſtphalia, and made himſelf maſter of Oſnabrug. His deſign was afterwards to take poſſeſſion of Munſter, in order to make way for the recovery of the Palatinate; but the inhabitants of that city averted the ſtorm, by bribing the duke with a conſiderable ſum of

of money. On the other ſide, Mansfeld having ſent his cavalry into the duchy of Saxe-Lawenburg, marched with his infantry through Lower Saxony, from Bremen to Sandow, where he croſſed the Elbe, and joined his horſe. There he reviewed his army, which was twelve thouſand ſtrong, with thirty pieces of cannon. His approach alarmed the elector of Brandenburg, and even the dukes of Mecklenburg, though they were members of the confederacy. Hence, inſtead of joining Mansfeld with their troops, they immediately garriſoned all their frontier towns, to prevent the ravages which Mansfeld's troops indiſcriminately committed againſt friends and enemies. Mansfeld's main deſign, as we have mentioned, was to penetrate into Sileſia; but colonel Aldringer, having thrown a ſtrong garriſon into Deſſau, a town ſituated on the Elbe, and ſecured the bridge at that place over the river, oppoſed his paſſage. Mansfeld determined to force his way over the bridge, and for that purpoſe made two briſk attacks upon the forts erected there by the imperialiſts, but was repulſed each time with loſs. This afforded time to Walſtein to fly to Aldringer's aſſiſtance. This general had given orders to count Schlick to march towards the bridge of Deſſau with the vanguard, and followed him with the remainder of his army: to prevent Mansfeld from knowing the number of men whom he threw into the forts and redoubts, he directed that the bridge towards the ſide of the enemy ſhould be covered with tents. The next day, Mansfeld having led on his troops to force the entrenchments, was ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf attacked by the whole imperial army; yet he was not at all diſmayed, but made the laſt and moſt vigorous efforts to carry the bridge; but Walſtein, having drawn up his forces in order of battle, charged him with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding the moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and the extraordinary proweſs of count Mansfeld, the imperialiſts obtained a complete victory; ſix thouſand of Mansfeld's troops were killed in the engagement or in the purſuit, and all his baggage and cannon fell into the hands of the enemy. Mansfeld retired with a ſmall body of cavalry into the marquiſate of Brandenburg. 25th April.

Farther adventures and death of count Mansfeld.

THIS unfortunate engagement ſomewhat tarniſhed the glory of Mansfeld, whom fortune ſeemed to abandon at the end of his career; yet all Europe was aſtoniſhed to ſee this great man ſuperior to every event, and forming in his retreat a new army, partly of his own ſhattered forces, partly of freſh recruits, and ſome troops
1626. ſent him by the king of Denmark. He now reſolved to execute his ſcheme of marching into Sileſia, which he effected in conjunction with the duke of Weimar. This prince he left in Sileſia with part of the army, and with the reſt he penetrated into Moravia, where he laid waſte the country with fire and ſword. His exploits would not have been confined to ravages, had not Walſtein cloſely attended his motions. This general foreſeeing the danger with which Bohemia and even Auſtria were threatened, ſhould Mansfeld effect a junction of his troops with Gabriel Bethlem in Hungary, marched with all expedition into Bohemia; from thence he proceeded to Sileſia, where he arrived almoſt as ſoon as Mansfeld, whom he purſued into Moravia. This ſtep diſconcerted Mansfeld, who had no other reſource left than to retire with the utmoſt expedition into the mountains which ſeparate Hungary from Moravia; from thence he deſcended into the plains of Hungary beyond the Wag, in order to put that river between him and the imperialiſts. Walſtein, ſtill obſtinate in the purſuit, ſoon appeared on the banks of that river, but was obliged to halt upon ſeeing Mansfeld encamped on the other ſide of the Wag, with a very ſtrong reinforcement from Gabriel Bethlem and the baſhaw of Boſnia. The two armies obſerved each other for ſome time, when a peſtilential diſeaſe breaking out, they were both infected with the contagion, whoſe envenomed darts proved more fatal than the ſword, and in both camps made the moſt deſtructive havock. To complete Mansfeld's misfortunes, he was informed at the ſame time, that Bethlem was upon the point of concluding an accommodation with the emperor, which accordingly took place. Finding himſelf thus baſely deſerted, and his army deſtroyed by famine and ſickneſs, he quitted his camp, and retired with a few favourite officers to Buda; from thence he ſet out for Venice, in order to

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conſider what meaſures he ſhould take the enſuing campaign; but death ſoon put an end to his toils and blaſted all his projects. Worn out with hardſhip and fatigue, but ſtill retaining a perfect vigour of mind, he arrived at a village between Zara and Spalatro in Dalmatia, where he was taken very ill; in his laſt moments, he ſummoned up all his courage to die like a hero; ſmiling at the horrors of death, which he had long defied, he ordered his ſervants to dreſs him in his moſt coſtly apparel, with his ſword by his ſide; and then ſending for all the officers who had followed his fortune, he made a pathetic ſpeech, which he concluded with exhorting them to continue to ſignalize themſelves, as they had hitherto done, in the profeſſion of arms. He expired a few minutes after, and his body was interred at Spalatro. By his death the houſe of Auſtria was delivered from a moſt dangerous and implacable enemy. Without money or territory, and generally unſucceſsful in battle, he ſtill contrived to maintain an army, during the ſpace of ſeven years, at the expence of the emperor's allies, and his genius ever found reſources, even when his affairs were at the moſt deſperate criſis. It is ſaid, that the Venetians, ſenſible of the eſteem which that great man had always profeſſed for their republic, intended to erect a ſtatue in his honour. His valour, his prudence, and unſhaken conſtancy rendered him worthy of that diſtinction; but hiſtory, more durable than braſs or marble, will immortalize his name and his glory.

Death of duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick. May, 1626.

The death of this great captain had been preceded by that of Chriſtian of Brunſwick, the moſt implacable enemy of the houſe of Auſtria, more known by his defeats than by his victories, and moſt odious to the Catholics for his cruelties. This prince, yet in the flower of life, died too ſoon for his own glory, leaving no other reputation but that of the moſt undaunted courage. He had contracted a kind of ferocity, at the head of an army of freebooters, which prompted him to commit moſt horrid barbarities, that have left a ſtain upon his memory. Age and experience might have made him a great commander, by moderating that impetuoſity and youthful fire, which often deprived him of that pre-

ſence of mind and cool reflection, ſo neceſſary in the conduct of armies. The proteſtant cauſe ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of thoſe two able generals, which was ſoon followed by that of another great captain, the duke of Weimar, who breathed his laſt in Sileſia, towards the end of the year, without being able to recruit Mansfeld's army, which had been left under his command *.

Operations of count Tilly.

DURING the courſe of theſe events at one of the extremities of the empire, count Tilly was making head againſt the king of Denmark, and ſignalizing himſelf by different exploits. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel having declared in favour of the Daniſh monarch, the count marched into Heſſe Caſſel, and attacked the town of Munden, which he ſtormed, and put the garriſon to the ſword. This being the key to the landgrave's dominions, the latter ſubmitted to the emperor. Tilly from thence proceeded to Gottingen, the inhabitants of which being intimidated by the treatment of the garriſon of Munden, ſurrendered without reſiſtance. Thence he directed his march to Northeim, where the Danes had a ſtrong garriſon; the king marched to the relief of the place with ſuch expedition as to come within ſight of Tilly, when the latter thought him at a great diſtance, and had not yet aſſembled his whole army. Tilly, finding himſelf inferior to the enemy, made uſe of a ſtratagem, and withdrew in the night, leaving his drums and trumpets in the camp to amuſe the Danes. As ſoon as he was joined by the reinforcements which he expected, he marched back towards the Danes, when the king, in his turn, thought proper to retreat, which he did in good order, till he came to the caſtle of Lutter, in the duchy of Lunenburg. Here his majeſty halted, and drew up his army in battalia, behind a rivulet. Tilly, having reconnoitred this poſt, reſolved to attack the Danes, notwithſtanding their advantageous ſituation; but he was twice repulſed with loſs, and his troops began to give way on every ſide, when leading them a third time to the charge,

* Bougeant, Barre, Beehr, Noris Guerre di Germania, Pfeffel.

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and throwing himſelf ſword in hand among the foremoſt of the enemy, he changed the fortune of the day, and obliged the Danes to give way in their turn; the king, imitating Tilly's example, exerted the utmoſt valour in animating his troops to maintain their firſt advantage; but they were unable to withſtand this furious charge of the imperialiſts, ſo that their cavalry turning their backs *, the infantry was left quite expoſed, and moſt of them cut in pieces. The Danes loſt above ten thouſand men, killed and taken priſoners, with all their baggage and artillery †.

Battle of Lutter, and the Danes defeated. 28th Auguſt. 1626.

So ſignal a victory gave the laſt blow to the confederacy of Lower Saxony. Flushed with this extraordinary ſucceſs, the imperialiſts ſpread themſelves, like locuſts, not only over the territories of the allied princes, but alſo of thoſe who were not at all concerned in the union. Here they gave themſelves up to the moſt horrid cruelties: Walſtein's ſoldiers eſpecially had acquired a very bad name by many enormities in their march through the marquiſate of Brandenburg, a neutral country; what treatment was then to be expected from ſuch troops upon their penetrating into Mecklenburg? That general, indeed, allowed his ſoldiers any exceſſes whatever, that they might be the more readily diſpoſed to execute his commands; but the allied troops behaved very little better in their retreat over the Elbe, into the Mecklenburg territories, as appears by the barbarities committed at Parchim. Almoſt all the ſtates of Lower Saxony were now obliged to make their ſubmiſſion to the imperial arms; and the dukes of Mecklenburg would in prudence have followed the example of the other princes, but were prevented by the king of Denmark, who had put garriſons into their ſtrong towns. This act of violence, however, did not excuſe them from incurring the emperor's indignation, the weight of which he made them feel with the utmoſt ſeverity. The im-

Farther ſucceſſes of the imperialiſts.

* It is ſaid that the loſs of this battle to the confederates was not more owing to the good diſpoſition of the imperialiſts than to the treachery of their own cavalry; for the remittances from France, England, and Holland failing, they, for want of pay, refuſed to fight.

† Barre, Bougeant, Pfeffel, Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz.

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perialiſts, in the mean time, were ſucceſsful in every quarter. The peaſants in Upper Auſtria had taken up arms in defence of the proteſtant religion, but were ſoon quelled by count Pappenheim; the Daniſh troops, which count Thurn commanded in Sileſia, were defeated by Walſtein; and the army which the marquis of Baden Dourlach had levied in Sileſia and France, was diſperſed by the archduke Leopold; Walſtein, at the ſame time, marched into the territories of the elector of Brandenburg, and compelled that prince to acknowledge the duke of Bavaria's electoral dignity.

1628. Tilly drives the king of Denmark out of Germany.

THE king of Denmark, in the mean time, had collected the remains of his army, and with ſome freſh ſuccours from France, England, and Holland, was ſtill able to keep the field. Tilly had been weakened even by his victories, and waited for a reinforcement of troops to puſh on his conqueſts. In this interval, the two armies were engaged in ſeveral enterprizes with alternate good fortune; but the prince of Furſtemberg having made himſelf maſter of Northeim, after an obſtinate and bloody ſiege, this ſucceſs quite diſpirited the Daniſh party. Tilly received his reinforcements, and purſued his advantages with the utmoſt vigour, the Danes flying every where upon his approach, ſo that he ſoon drove them from the Elbe, and out of Lower Saxony. The king was obliged to retire to Holſtein, where he was purſued by Tilly, who was ſoon after joined by the forces under Walſtein. Chriſtian, unable to withſtand the combined army, retreated, after ſome vain efforts to defend Holſtein, into the duchy of Sleſwick; the enemy followed him cloſe, and over-ran that duchy and all Jutland. At the ſame time, the imperial troops ſpread themſelves like a torrent over Lower Saxony, making themſelves maſters of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Holſtein; Nieuburg and Wolfembuttle, the only ſtrong places left in the hands of the Daniſh monarch, were obliged to ſubmit to the imperialiſts, who now lorded it over the whole circle of Lower Saxony, as a conquered country.

Lower Saxony reduced.

Chriſtian IV. rejects the conditions of

THESE extraordinary ſucceſſes alarmed even the catholics themſelves, who, thinking their liberty in danger, held an aſſembly at Wurtz-

Wurtzburg, in order to ſtem the torrent of the emperor's power; but this aſſembly broke up without doing any thing effectual; and the like fate had the electoral diet at Mulhauſen, held on the ſame account. The king of Denmark ſued for peace, but Ferdinand preſcribed ſuch conditions to him as were more ruinous than the continuation of the war; he was to confine himſelf to the kingdom of Denmark, without interfering in the troubles of Germany, and to indemnify the emperor, for the expences of the war. Conditions ſo ſevere and ignominious were rejected, and the king magnanimouſly reſolved to wait the iſſue of another campaign. The emperor, in the mean time, convoked the ſtates at Prague, where he procured his ſon Ferdinand III. who was already king of Hungary, to be elected his ſucceſſor to the kingdom of Bohemia. He then ſhewed his zeal for the catholic religion, by baniſhing all the proteſtants out of the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria*.

peace propoſed by the emperor.

* Barre, Bougeant, Heiſſ, Beehr, Pfeffel, Buckholtz, Franck.

CHAP.

peace pro-
posed by the
emperor.

CHAP. V.

The PROSCRIPTION and EXILE of the DUKES of MECKLENBURG.

The emperor Ferdinand aims at the abſolute ſovereignty of Germany. Cautious behaviour of the dukes of Mecklenburg. Duke Adolph Frederick and his brother join the confederacy of Lower Saxony. Embaſſies from the kings of England and France, to the dukes of Mecklenburg. The court of Vienna tampers in vain with duke Adolph Frederick and his brother. The Danes prevent all accommodation between the emperor and the two dukes. The imperial army penetrates into Mecklenburg. Imperial reſcript to the dukes of Mecklenburg. Debates in the imperial council with regard to the two dukes. The emperor grants the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mecklenburg by way of mortgage to Walſtein. Duke Adolph Frederick and his brother proſcribed and driven into exile.

1628. The emperor Ferdinand aims at the abſolute ſovereignty of Germany.

FERDINAND had now ſubdued every oppoſition to his will; the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia paid humble obeiſance to him; a long ſeries of victories rendered him formidable to all Germany; he had proſcribed the Palatine and his adherents; he had humbled the king of Denmark; and compelled his other enemies to ſubmit to ſuch laws as he pleaſed to preſcribe. He ſeemed therefore now determined to ſubvert the Germanic conſtitution, by which his predeceſſors had hitherto governed, and to pull off the maſk, by diſcloſing at once his ambition of making himſelf abſolute maſter of the ſeveral ſtates of the empire. Intoxicated with this idea, he began this year with putting the two brothers, dukes of Mecklenburg, who had diſplayed their zeal for the cauſe of religion and

liberty, under the imperial ban, and giving away their territories, by his own free-will and authority, to his general Walſtein, duke of Friedland. But, as this is one of the moſt important tranſactions of that emperor's reign, and at the ſame a principal epocha in our hiſtory, it is incumbent upon us to enter into a more minute detail, and to trace the conduct of our dukes to the very commencement of theſe fatal diſturbances.

Cautious behaviour of the dukes of Mecklenburg.

THE dukes of Mecklenburg had long been alarmed at the encroachments of the Auſtrian power, which threatened the ſubverſion of the Germanic liberty and the proteſtant religion; yet they had acted all along with the utmoſt circumſpection, and being ſenſible of the great danger to which they expoſed themſelves, they avoided taking any ſtep but ſuch as they apprehended to be conſiſtent with the laws and conſtitution of the empire. Hence it was, that when they joined in the confederacy of the circle of Lower Saxony in 1614, for the preſervation of the civil and religious liberty of the province, they, with their coeſtates, were ſo frank and open, as to acquaint his imperial majeſty with the meaſures they had adopted; and the emperor ſeemingly approved of their reſolution. This confederacy was renewed the next year at Ultzen, and confirmed at Hanover. It was an affair in which every other circle had a right to act as it pleaſed, within its own juriſdiction. When the Bohemian war broke out, they prudently declined being concerned in that quarrel, and, as we have already obſerved, they not only refuſed to ſuffer the Engliſh troops to march through their country to the aſſiſtance of the elector Palatine, but raiſed their militia to defend the paſſage of the Elbe.

IN 1623 the dukes ſeemed to be ſtill on very good terms with the court of Vienna; which appeared by the emperor's granting them permiſſion to levy a toll upon the Elbe, for twenty years, at Boitzenburg. But this was only a fallacious appearance of the emperor's favour, his real drift being to break the confederacy of Lower Saxony. Count Mansfeld, at this time, having raiſed ſome troops in the marquiſate of Brandenburg, applied to the dukes of Mecklenburg for a paſſage through their 1623.

country, which they thought proper to refuſe, unwilling as yet to offend the emperor; and deſirous of preſerving the tranquillity of the province. Accordingly they poſted troops on the frontiers to prevent any approach of foreign forces. Amidſt theſe troubles duke Adolph Frederick married Anna Maria, daughter of Enno III. count of Eaſt Friſeland; and the nuptials were celebrated at Bremerforde, on the fifth of September.

Confederacy of the circle of Lower Saxony.

THE confederacy of the circle in which the dukes joined the ſame year, was in conſequence of the damages the country had ſuſtained from the parties of the imperial generals, Tilly and Walſtein; the ſtates of the circle declared for a neutrality, and began to levy troops in order to preſerve the peace of the province, and to prevent the inroads and violence of foreign armies. The dukes, with the other ſtates, appriſed the emperor of this meaſure, aſſuring his imperial majeſty that they entertained no thoughts of violating their duty and allegiance to their ſovereign; and the emperor was ſeemingly ſatisfied with this declaration, though he was inwardly diſpleaſed, apprehending all levies in the circle to be made with a deſign of diminiſhing his authority. It was ſaid indeed that he had juſt reaſon to complain of their having appointed duke Chriſtian, of Brunſwick, commander of the troops of the circle, as he had been proſcribed, and put under the ban of the empire. But upon the removal of that general, and the command of the troops being given to the king of Denmark, by the act of confederacy in 1625, in which the dukes of Mecklenburg joined, a loud complaint was made by the imperialiſts againſt the ſtates of the circle, for conferring the command of their troops on a foreign prince. This objection was eaſily anſwered, ſince the king of Denmark could not be conſidered as a foreigner, but as a prince of the empire, being duke of Holſtein, and a member of the circle.

1625. Violences committed by the imperialiſts in Lower Saxony.

THE hardſhips which the circle of Lower Saxony underwent, by the depredations of the imperial troops, in marching and countermarching, obliged the ſtates at length to have recourſe, not only to the imperial generals, but even to the emperor himſelf,

ſelf, begging that he would vouchſafe to order his generals to abſtain from all unjuſt violence, and from diſturbing the tranquillity of the province. They likewiſe wrote to the elector of Cologne, and to the infanta Iſabella, deſiring thoſe princes to withdraw their troops from the territories belonging to the circle. The ſame application they made again to his imperial majeſty, complaining of their hardſhips, and the outrages committed by the imperial forces, and intreating him to withdraw his troops from their territories. The exceſſes committed by thoſe troops were enormous, free quarters were demanded and obtained by force, houſes plundered and robbed, and the country every where treated as a conquered province: to theſe ſeverities the imperialiſts often added menaces, that the emperor would treat their princes as plebeians; and when Tilly and other generals were told of the violences committed by their men, they anſwered that their troops were not birds, nor could they fly over the country, or live without neceſſary refreſhments. Thus the cauſes of diſguſt multiplying every day, were now come to full maturity, and threatened Germany with ſome great revolution. When the new confederacy of the circle was formed at Lawenburg, in 1625, and the command of the troops of the circle given to Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, the dukes of Mecklenburg joined in this alliance, from the ſame principle of defending their religious and civil rights againſt every invaſion.

The dukes of Mecklenburg join the confederacy of Lower Saxony.

During theſe tranſactions, the duchy of Mecklenburg was diſturbed by inteſtine diſputes between the ſovereign and the ſtates concerning their privileges. The ſtates were convened ſeveral times in this perilous conjuncture, and on being called upon for their quota, they conſtantly adviſed the dukes not to join in the confederacy of the circle, for the province, they ſaid, was in ſo exhauſted a condition, that no advantage could be expected from military preparations. This was the conſtant tenour of their conduct during the whole time of thoſe diſturbances; ſo that the dukes met with great difficulty in raiſing their contingent for the troops of the circle. The court of Vienna ſeems to

Diſputes between the ſtates and dukes of Mecklenburg.

have fomented a miſunderſtanding between the dukes and the ſtates of Mecklenburg, the latter ever adviſing their ſovereign to keep fair with the emperor. Hence we find that Ferdinand's reſentment increaſing the next year, the act of ſecurity and the reverſales of 1626 were readily confirmed, on the bare application of the ſtates, without the conſent or privity of the dukes *.

The emperor prohibits the levying of troops in Lower Saxony.

The emperor having received intelligence of the alliance between the kings of England, France, and Denmark, and the circle of Lower Saxony, began to be very uneaſy; and, in order to intimidate the dukes of Mecklenburg, he wrote an epiſtle to duke Adolph Frederick with his own hand to acquaint him, "That he had iſſued out very ſtrict orders, prohibiting "the ſtates of Lower Saxony from levying troops contrary to the "laws of the empire; he likewiſe declared his approbation of "the duke's prudent conduct, in endeavouring to avert the im-"pending danger of war from his dominions; he concluded "with exhorting him to perſevere in co-operating with his im-"perial majeſty's paternal care to preſerve the public peace, and "to continue his ſteadineſs in his fidelity and allegiance to the "head of the Germanic body; deſiring him, moreover, to "keep a watchful eye over the ſea ports in his dominions, ſo as "prevent any foreign enemy from making a deſcent in that "part of Germany; all which he would gratefully acknow-"ledge †."

1626. Embaſſy from king Charles I. to the dukes of Mecklenburg.

The year following an ambaſſador arrived from the Charles I. king of England, whoſe father died the preceding year, to exhort the princes of the circle of Lower Saxony, to exert themſelves in the defence of their liberty and religion, and promiſing to aſſiſt them with men and money. This was Sir Robert Anſtruther, who had a particular commiſſion from king Charles, to repreſent his majeſty as ſponſor, at the chriſtening of a young prince, of whom the ducheſs, conſort of duke Adolph Frederick, had been delivered on the eighth of March. The

* Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz. † Beehr, Franck.

prince

prince was named Charles in honour of his god-father. Upon receiving an audience of the duke, Sir Robert delivered the following letter from king Charles to that prince *.

Monſieur mon Couſin †.

In purſuance of the promiſe we gave you in a letter, which your privy counſellor, the Sieur Hartwig Paſſow, muſt have delivered to you by this time, we have ſent over to you Sir Robert Anſtruther, our ambaſſador extraordinary, in order to perform in our name the office you deſired, and to repreſent us at the baptiſmal font as ſponſor to the infant, with whom it has pleaſed God to bleſs you, and through whom we beſeech the divine majeſty to grant you all the comfort and conſolation you can poſſibly expect and deſire: alſo to aſſure you of our readineſs to ſhew you every other mark of our intire affection, which it is in our power to beſtow: this is what we have commiſſioned him more particularly to ſignify to you in our name, begging you will give him full and intire credit on our behalf. We remain,

Monſieur mon Couſin,

Your moſt affectionate couſin and friend,

CHARLES R.

At our palace of Weſtminſter,
April the 30th, 1626 ‡.

Sir Robert Anſtruther's ſpeech to the dukes.

After the delivery of the above letter, Sir Robert made a ſpeech to duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, "repre- "ſenting to their highneſſes, the great concern his majeſty "laboured under for the misfortunes of his brother-in-law, the "elector Palatine; that all hopes of reſtoring that prince to his

* Beehr, Chemnitz.

† This was not a term of compliment; king Charles I. was grandſon, by his mother's ſide, to princeſs Sophia of Mecklenburg, firſt couſin to duke Adolph, Frederick's father.

‡ This letter was copied from the Harleian MS. in the Britiſh Muſæum, No. 1760. after letter 9. fol. 18. The original is in French.

"dominions,

" dominions, by amicable means, being now vaniſhed, he was " determined, if poſſible, to obtain by force of arms, what " neither his father nor he could procure by negotiation; that " he hoped, as the dukes of Mecklenburg were ſo nearly re- " lated to his ſiſter, and brother-in-law, they would not be de- " ficient in co-operating with his majeſty to reſtore them to " their paternal inheritance."

The dukes anſwer.

THE dukes of Mecklenburg, though flattered with this embaſſy, were ſtill cautious of giving any handle to their enemies, by entering into a confederacy with a foreign prince, who was at variance with the emperor. They made anſwer therefore to Sir Robert, " that they were greatly concerned for his ma- " jeſty's uneaſineſs with regard to his brother-in-law, the elec- " tor Palatine; that they ſincerely lamented the unhappy fate " of diſtracted Germany, inaſmuch as the peaceable counſels of " his majeſty and his deceaſed father had met with no ſucceſs; " but, when they came ſeriouſly to conſider the unavoidable " miſeries and horrors of a civil war, they thought it moſt pru- " dent to prevent ſuch a dreadful ſcourge from reaching their " dominions: perhaps, they added, it was not adviſable to deſ- " pair as yet of peace, but to try once more what effect a freſh " application would have upon the mind of his imperial ma- " jeſty; for, ſo great was the power and influence of the king " of Great Britain, that the emperor ſurely would not refuſe " to liſten to his interpoſition, and grant, through a principle " of clemency, what it would be extremely difficult to extort " from him by force of arms; and as his imperial majeſty had " now recovered all his hereditary dominions, he would rather " forgive the Palatine, at the interceſſion of ſo great and power- " ful a monarch, than render himſelf odious to ſo many princes, " who pleaded in behalf of his brother-in-law: that for their " part, their feeble offices in the ſame good cauſe ſhould not " be wanting, if his Britannic majeſty would pleaſe to accept " of them." This anſwer, which ſhewed their diſinclination to break with the houſe of Auſtria, the dukes of Mecklenburg communicated to the emperor, adding the ſtrongeſt proteſta-

tions,

tions, that they were determined to ſquare their conduct by the laws of the empire, and to perſevere in ſhewing all due allegiance and fidelity to his imperial majeſty *.

Farther caution of the dukes of Mecklenburg.

WITH ſuch prudence and caution did theſe princes continue to act at this critical conjuncture, that when count Mansfeld came with his forces from Holland into the duchy of Bremen, they not only avoided giving him any aſſiſtance, but endeavoured to prevent him from penetrating into their country. That able general had croſſed the Elbe in the duchy of Bremen, and pitched his camp in the territories of Lawenburg, Ratzeburg, and Lubeck. From thence he diſpatched an officer to the dukes of Mecklenburg, deſiring a paſſage through their territories. The dukes denied his requeſt, and wrote to Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, imploring his aſſiſtance againſt count Mansfeld, to prevent their dominions from being made the ſeat of war.

The emperor endeavours to ſtop the military preparations in Lower Saxony.

THE king of Denmark being appointed commander in chief of the army of the circle of Lower Saxony, things were ſoon brought to a criſis. The emperor had received undoubted intelligence that the Daniſh monarch had entered into an alliance withthe king of England, and would avail himſelf of the troops of the circle joined to his own, to effect the reſtoration of the Palatine. But this was not the intention of the dukes of Mecklenburg, and other princes of the circle; all they aimed at was to oppoſe any unjuſt violence, and to prevent foreign troops from invading and plundering their territories. The military preparations being now carried on with vigour throughout Lower Saxony, the dukes of Mecklenburg ſummoned the ſtates of the country; but inſtead of ſubſidies, they met only with complaints of grievances. Some ſupplies however were granted, but not at all anſwerable to the zeal of the two dukes for the defence of the province. Count Tilly in the mean time wrote to the ſtates of Lower Saxony, exhorting them to deſiſt from making new levies; and to renounce all alliances with foreign princes. At

* Beehr, Franck.

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the ſame time the emperor wrote to the king of Denmark, deſiring him not to diſturb the peace of the empire. The king made anſwer, that he had armed in conjunction with the circle, only to attain the ſame end as his imperial majeſty ſeemed to wiſh for, that of preſerving the public tranquillity. This was the pretext on both ſides, even when they were upon the point of overwhelming Germany with a deluge of blood. The ſword being drawn, Tilly approached the Weſer, and having made himſelf maſter of Hamelen, where his army committed great cruelties, he again wrote to the ſtates of the circle, exhorting them once more to deſiſt from their armaments, and not to deſpiſe the friendly admonitions of the emperor, who was the proper guardian of the peace and tranquillity of their circle, and of the whole empire; otherwiſe he appealed to heaven, that againſt his will, he muſt maintain his ſovereign's authority over their circle by force of arms. At the ſame time the imperial general wrote to Frederick Ulric duke of Brunſwick, giving him the like advice, as alſo to the elector of Saxony, apologizing to that prince for marching into Lower Saxony with an imperial army.

Ambaſſador from the king of France to the dukes of Mecklenburg.

DURING the progreſs of the Auſtrian arms, Lewis XIII. king of France ſent M. de la Picardiere, as his ambaſſador to the princes of Lower Saxony, with a commiſſion to offer the aſſiſtance and good offices of the king his maſter for reſtoring the peace of Germany, and preventing the princes of the empire from ſheathing their ſwords in their own bowels. This French miniſter arrived in Mecklenburg in the month of September, when he waited on the dukes and imparted to them whatever inſtructions he had received from his maſter. The dukes made anſwer, on the 14th of September, that they were greatly obliged, and returned their moſt ſincere thanks to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty for his kind intentions towards them, and the circle of which they were members; that they had entered into a confederacy with their co-eſtates, in order to repel every unjuſt violence and injury, ſtill retaining all due allegiance and fidelity to his imperial majeſty, to whom the circle was well affected.

affected. For this purpoſe by a reſolution of the circle at Lunenburg, in 1623, all foreign troops were ordered to remove out of their territories, in hopes that the country hereafter would be free from the inconveniencies and hardſhips which attend the marching and quartering of armies. But as Count Tilly continued notwithſtanding to diſturb the peace of the circle, they had joined with their co-eſtates, in nominating the king of Denmark, to command the troops of the circle, and to protect the country againſt all hoſtile invaſion; that their army was now intirely at that prince's command, and they hoped that God would grant his bleſſing to thoſe innocent efforts in their own juſt defence; that their allegiance to his imperial majeſty might ſtill remain inviolate, that they might be able to defend themſelves and their property without injuring any third perſon, and that after ſuch a ſeries of calamities peace at length might be reſtored to the diſtracted empire." Such were the moderate ſentiments of the dukes, even after the ſword was drawn; they had no other ambition but to act in conjunction with their co-eſtates in defence of their liberties, and of the proteſtant religion.

The ſtates of Mecklenburg refuſe to grant ſubſidies to the dukes.

ABOUT the ſame time the dukes ſummoned the ſtates of Mecklenburg, to conſult on the neceſſary ſupplies, eſpecially for repairing the fortifications of Domitz, in order to defend the paſſage of the Elbe againſt any foreign troops. But the ſtates being intimidated by the imperial menaces, and ſtill complaining of grievances, refuſed to grant any ſubſidies towards the defence of their country. They again adviſed the dukes not to concern themſelves in the preſent broils, but to obſerve inviolate the allegiance due to the head of the empire. The ſtates had been probably tampered with by imperial agents, for they held much the ſame language during the whole time of theſe unhappy commotions.

Conferences at Brunſwick.

CONFERENCES at this juncture were held at Brunſwick, in hopes of effecting an accommodation between the contending parties. The imperial, Daniſh, Saxon, and Brandenburgh miniſters

aſſiſted at this aſſembly, but all endeavours towards a reconciliation proved ineffectual. It was ſtrongly ſuſpected that the emperor's view was to make a conqueſt of Lower Saxony, and eſpecially of the duchy of Mecklenburg, in order to eſtabliſh an abſolute dominion over Germany, by means of the vicinity of that province to the north and eaſt ſea. The erecting a naval force was one of Ferdinand's ſchemes; in conſequence of which every oppreſſion was made uſe of to irritate the princes of the circle, and to bring on a war, in which the imperial armies, from their ſuperiority of numbers and diſcipline, had all the appearance of ſucceſs. But to return to the negociation; the Saxon and Brandenburg miniſters propoſed ſuch terms of accommodation as duke Adolph Frederick and his brother judged reaſonable; but it was the fate of unhappy Germany, that the propoſals were not agreeable to the other parties *.

1626. The court of Vienna tampers in vain with the dukes of Mecklenburg.

THE embaſſy of the king of England to the dukes of Mecklenburg had given great uneaſineſs to the court of Vienna; the imperial miniſters began now to think that thoſe princes had engaged too deeply in the Daniſh confederacy, and gone beyond the bounds of the imperial conſtitutions. Prince Eggenberg, the emperor's favourite, and Strahlendorff the vice chancellor, ſent for Jeremiah Piſtorius, agent at Vienna for the dukes of Mecklenburg, and exhorted him to write to their highneſſes, and adviſe them to remember that they were princes of the empire, and therefore ſhould conduct themſelves ſo as to give no offence or umbrage to his imperial majeſty. Piſtorius having complied with their order, the dukes returned thanks to the imperial miniſter, declaring that they would never deviate from their duty to the head of the empire, but did not deny their being concerned in the confederacy of the circle, which was not intended to injure any perſon, but only to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of their own country. This anſwer not being ſatisfactory, Henry Huſanus, a native of Mecklenburg, was deputed by the imperial court to enter into a farther

* Bechr, Franck.

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diſcuſſion with the dukes, and to adviſe them not to run the riſk of loſing their territories by perſiſting in an alliance ſo obnoxious to his imperial majeſty. The dukes made a very long reply to Huſanus, apologizing for their conduct upon the ſame principles as they had done before, declaring their diſpoſition to peace, the ſincerity of their intentions towards his imperial majeſty, whom they no way intended to injure, nor to derogate from his dignity. At the ſame time they wrote to the king of Denmark, acquainting him with what had paſſed between them and Huſanus, and recommending earneſtly to his majeſty ſuch ſalutary meaſures as might reſcue their country, and indeed all Germany, from the horrors of a civil war. The king thanked them for their kind intelligence, commended their perſeverance in the common cauſe, and declared he was not averſe to a ſincere and honourable peace, which he knew to be far preferable to the dreadful calamities of war *.

The king of Denmark prevents all accomodation between the emperor and the dukes of Mecklenburg.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe declarations the war broke out, and the Daniſh army, as we have already ſeen, was totally defeated at the battle of Lutter. The ſtates of Lower Saxony were then obliged to conſult their own ſecurity, by making the beſt terms they could with the imperial generals. Frederick Ulric duke of Brunſwick, ſet the example; for the very day after that fatal engagement he renounced all connexion with king Chriſtian, and ſurrendered his ſtrong town, to be garriſoned by the imperialiſts. In this critical conjuncture the dukes of Mecklenburg, unable to oppoſe any longer the imperial arms, judged it more prudent to follow the example of the duke of Brunſwick. With this view they diſpatched a meſſenger to Count Tilly, ſignifying their ready ſubmiſſion to his imperial majeſty; and deſiring he would ſend a ſtrong body of troops to garriſon their towns, which would prevent the Danes from collecting their forces in the duchy of Mecklenburg, and making it the ſeat of war. But whether it was owing to Tilly's inattention, or to ſome fatality

* Beehr, Franck.

which brought on the ruin of that unhappy country, the king of Denmark rallied the remains of his ſhattered army, and throwing a bridge over the Elbe, determined to fix his winter-quarters in Mecklenburg and Holſtein. Upon which the Daniſh troops took poſſeſſion of the prefectures of Domitz, Eldena, and Zarrenthien, as likewiſe of Wittenberg, Grabow, and Gorlofen, and put a ſtrong garriſon into the town of Boitzenburg. This was a fatal ſtroke to the dukes of Mecklenburg; the emperor's miniſters looked upon it as a contrivance of thoſe princes to favour the retreat of the Daniſh army, and as a ſettled reſolution to perſiſt in the cauſe they had eſpouſed, even after the confederacy of the other princes of the circle had been diſſolved.

The dukes offend the emperor by aſſiſting the Swedes.

Another unlucky circumſtance, which did great prejudice to the dukes at this juncture, and raiſed the clamour of the imperial party, was the conſent they had given for the king of Sweden's raiſing two regiments of horſe and one of foot in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in order to ſupport that prince in the war he then carried on againſt Sigiſmund king of Poland, a near relation and ally of the emperor. For the ſame purpoſe of aſſiſting the Swedes, they had ordered colonel Huneke to raiſe new recruits, and they likewiſe borrowed a few troops of the elector of Brandenburg. The ſtates of the province complained very heavily of this meaſure, not only as it muſt tend to increaſe the jealouſy and indignation of the emperor; but as it became burthen ſome to the ſeveral diſtricts, and eſpecially to the towns of Roſtock and Wiſmar in which thoſe troops were quartered; the irregularities committed by the Swedes, as well as by the Daniſh forces, furniſhed the ſtates with a ſubject of loud complaint: but theſe were grievances which it was no longer in the power of the dukes to remove.

Imperial mandate prohibiting all levies in Mecklenburg.

Duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, having convened the ſtates in the town of Sternberg, Henry Huſanus, the imperial deputy, delivered to the aſſembly a confirmation from Ferdinand II. of the Reverſales granted by the dukes in 1621, by which all their privileges were fully ſecured. This was a voluntary act of the emperor, whereby he intended to cajole the

ſtates, and to create a jealouſy between them and the dukes. Soon after arrived a herald from Walſtein, with a new imperial mandate, prohibiting all levies in that country in favour of the confederates, or of the enemies of the houſe of Auſtria. A copy of the mandate was given to the dukes, who cauſed it to be publiſhed throughout the province. In order to ſatisfy the emperor and the ſtates, and to avert the ſtorm which threatened their dominions, the dukes wrote to the king of Denmark, humbly intreating his majeſty to withdraw his troops from their country, as the only means to prevent its becoming the ſeat of war. They likewiſe applied to ſeveral princes their relations and friends, as the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the duke of Holſtein and the prince of Anhalt, to beg their interpoſition with the emperor in the preſent unhappy ſituation of affairs. The good offices of thoſe princes were not at all wanting; but the reception of Daniſh troops into the duchy of Mecklenburg had exaſperated the emperor to ſuch a degree, as to render him deaf to all terms of accommodation. The dukes however declared that the Danes had taken up their quarters in Mecklenburg againſt their conſent, as appeared by their outrageous behaviour throughout the country, and the ravages they committed upon the poor inhabitants; that they had applied to the king of Denmark to withdraw his army, but their entreaties had been rejected; in fine, that it was unfair and unjuſt to condemn them for what it had not been in their power to prevent *.

Much about this time, Huſanus, the imperial agent, received a letter from Tilly, deſiring him to wait upon the two dukes and demand, as a mark of their allegiance to his imperial majeſty, that they would deliver up the towns of Neuſtat, Grabow, Parchim, Lubze, Plawe, Wittenborg, Boitzenburg, and Ratzeburg, to be garriſoned by imperial troops till the concluſion of a peace; that they would likewiſe give orders for ſupplying thoſe forces with proviſion, ammunition, and quarters, on which condition they ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline. This was a

Tilly demands quarters for his troops in Mecklenburg.

* Bechr, Khevenhuller.

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moſt alarming meſſage; the ſtorm was now burſt, and the dukes with great concern perceived that their country muſt be totally ruined. They anſwered Tilly, that they were ſincerely diſpoſed to ſurrender the towns above-mentioned to his imperial majeſty's forces, but it was not in their power to ſhow that mark of their allegiance till the Daniſh troops were driven out of Mecklenburg. They begged however of that general to ſuſpend hoſtilities againſt their country, till they tried once more whether they could prevail on the king of Denmark to withdraw his troops; as ſuch a ſtep might be productive of a peace, to which they knew that monarch to be well inclined. This anſwer was not at all ſatisfactory to Tilly; he wrote again to the dukes that he had no commiſſion from his imperial majeſty to enter into any conferences of peace; that abſolute ſubmiſſion and return to their duty was expected from the princes of the circle; that the dukes muſt comply with the royal mandate, and teſtify their allegiance to the head of the empire by ejecting the Daniſh garriſons out of their towns; otherwiſe he (John, count Tilly) would purſue the enemies of his ſovereign to what place ſoever they retired, and conſequently muſt ſoon march with his whole army into the duchy of Mecklenburg.

The imperialiſts march into Mecklenburg.

It is evident that this haughty demand was altogether nugatory, ſince the imperial general muſt have been ſenſible that it was not in the power of the dukes to comply with it. Tilly however ſoon carried his menaces into execution: having made himſelf maſter of Northeim, he marched his army towards the Elbe, and throwing a bridge over that river, at the paſs of Lutterhauſen, the Daniſh garriſon there ſurrendered to him, and he took poſſeſſion of Boitzenburg and Lawenburg, in which the enemy had depoſited their military ſtores. The Daniſh army then retired to the maritime coaſt of Mecklenburg, expecting aſſiſtance from the hanſe towns, in which they were diſappointed. Tilly loſt no time, but purſued the Daniſh forces to Holſtein, where, as we have already related, every thing was obliged to yield to the imperial arms. At the ſame time intelligence was received of Walſtein's ſucceſs in Sileſia againſt Count Mansfeld, and that

the imperial troops under that general were upon their return to Lower Saxony, intending to take quarters in the duchy of Mecklenburg. This report ſpread a general conſternation throughout the province, which had been already harraſſed and plundered in the moſt cruel manner by the Daniſh forces. After ſuch treatment from friends and allies, what had not Mecklenburg to dread from hoſtile armies?

AFFAIRS being thus unhappily circumſtanced, Henry Huſanus, the imperial agent, who at that time reſided at Lubeck, ſent from thence, on the 27th of July, the following reſcript to each of the dukes, dated at Vienna the 2d of July, and ſigned by the emperor Ferdinand II. 1628.

Imperial reſcript to the dukes of Mecklenburg.

"We were in hopes, that, in imitation of the other ſtates of Lower Saxony, and according to the promiſe ſo often made to our miniſters and agents, by your dilection * and your brother, as well as in conformity to your duty, and in compliance with ſo many letters, meſſages, and exhortations, you would yield true obedience and ſubmiſſion to our imperial mandate againſt the levying of troops for the ſervice of the confederacy: but we are now fully perſuaded of the reverſe, not only by common report, but by your conduct well known to all the world; ſo many letters, meſſages, and admonitions have had no other effect than to amuſe us with ſpecious promiſes. With great concern we have heard, that, contrary to our expectation and to your ſolemn promiſe, you have, in prejudice to us, and to the public welfare, voluntarily ſurrendered your forts, towns, and caſtles to our enemies, aſſiſted them with proviſions, ammunition, and ſtores of all ſorts, and done every thing in your power to obſtruct our intereſt. For which reaſon, we, emperor and ſovereign lord of all the Romans, who have been often and grievouſly offended, might immediately have proceeded againſt your dilection, and thoſe who were your abettors and adviſers in theſe tranſactions, ſo as to avail ourſelves of ſuch means as the conſtitutions of the ſacred Roman empire have put in our power, and have been ſo often

* A title given by the court of Vienna to the princes of the empire.

denounced

denounced and threatened againſt thoſe who have refuſed to obey our imperial mandates. But, that neither your dilection, nor your brother, may plead hereafter any juſt pretence or excuſe, and that you may have a farther teſtimony of our imperial forbearance and clemency, we exhort you this laſt time to give us a certain proof of your obedience and ſubmiſſion by your actions, that is, by immediately expelling the Daniſh and all foreign troops out of your forts and territories, and breaking off all connexion with our enemies. Both you and your ſubjects are to obey this imperial mandate, and to obtain certificates of your compliance from the generals of our armies, to be delivered to us; or you muſt expect, that ſuch meaſures will be taken to reduce you to obedience as we are allowed to purſue by the cuſtoms of the holy Roman empire, and the execution of which we have entruſted to our military commanders. In order therefore to prevent any farther ill conſequences to yourſelves, we enjoin you once more to obey our mandate; and we have given you this laſt notice and admonition, as a mark of our imperial favour †."

Meaſures taken by the two dukes upon receiving the imperial reſcript.

THE dukes were thunder-ſtruck at the peruſal of this reſcript. It plainly ſhewed, that Ferdinand was determined to ſeize their territories, when he peremptorily inſiſted on the expulſion of the Danes, which it was not in their power to perform. Finding, therefore, that the emperor was implacable in his reſentment, they convened the ſtates at Sternberg, to conſult about proper meaſures in this critical ſituation, and to propoſe farther ſupplies of men and money for the ſecurity of the province; but the ſtates were deaf to their intreaties, the time was ſpent as uſual in the enumeration of grievances, and eſpecially of the hardſhips the province ſuſtained from the enormities committed by the Daniſh forces. The ſtates had received from Huſanus a copy of the reſcript to the dukes, in conſequence of which, they adviſed and ſupplicated thoſe princes to comply with the order of his imperial majeſty, as the only means of preventing the total ruin of Mecklenburg. The dukes

† Beehr, Franck, Kluver.

ſeeing

ſeeing the ſtates unwilling to make any proviſion for the defence of the province, and being informed that the imperial troops were approaching, thought proper to quit their uſual places of reſidence; duke Adolph Frederick retired for greater ſafety, to Wiſmar, and duke John Albert, with his conſort, to Roſtock, there to wait the iſſue of the war. From thence they wrote again to all the princes, their relations and friends, begging they would intercede in their favour at the court of Vienna, and endeavour to ſoothe the emperor's indignation. They likewiſe ſent deputies to Tilly, the imperial general, with orders to refute the charge of their having voluntarily ſurrendered their towns to the Daniſh troops, and to declare how ready they were to ſhew every mark of ſubmiſſion to his imperial majeſty. Tilly gave a very polite anſwer to the deputies, but concluded with the unreaſonable demand, that the dukes ſhould forthwith expel the Daniſh troops out of their territories, and deliver up all their forts and caſtles to the imperial troops, as the only proof of the ſincerity of their intentions; he moreover inſiſted, that the imperial troops ſhould be furniſhed with proviſions, ammunition, and quarters, in ſhort, with every thing neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of an army. At the ſame time, he wrote a letter to duke Adolph Frederick, deſiring that prince immediately to deliver up the fortreſs of Domitz. The duke made anſwer, that he was ready to comply with the imperial general's orders, but he ſubmitted to his prudent conſideration, whether it would not be premature in him to ſurrender that fortreſs to the emperor's troops before the Danes were diſpoſſeſſed of the duchy of Mecklenburg, ſince the latter might conſider this ſtep as an act of hoſtility on the part of the dukes, and would certainly wreak their vengeance on a defenceleſs country. This he ſaid would be of no ſervice, but rather a prejudice to the imperial arms, and therefore he flattered himſelf that the general would firſt expel the Danes out of Mecklenburg, and then he was ready to ſurrender the fort above-mentioned; he begged at the ſame time that the general would repreſent to the imperial throne, theſe ſentiments of profound ſubmiſſion and reſpect,

1628.

with which both himſelf and his brother were penetrated; and humbly entreated him to prevent his troops from committing any outrages in the country of Mecklenburg, aſſuring him that the garriſon of Domitz in the mean time ſhould no way interrupt the progreſs of the imperial arms. This anſwer, tho' extremely reaſonable and juſt, was far from being ſatisfactory to Tilly.

The imperial forces take poſſeſſion of Mecklenburg.

WALSTEIN had now finiſhed his triumphant campaign in Sileſia, and was upon his march with a ſtrong army towards the duchy of Mecklenburg. The van, under the command of general Arnheim, conſiſted of five thouſand men, who entered the country without oppoſition, and took poſt at Malchin. The Daniſh forces, too weak to encounter the imperialiſts after the junction of the two armies under Tilly and Walſtein, quitted their ſtations upon the Elbe, and retired to the neighbourhood of Dobberan, where they pitched their camp; they alſo took poſſeſſion of the iſle of Poel, intending to wait there for ſuccours, or if too hard preſſed, to embark for Denmark. Walſtein by this time was arrived in the neighbourhood of Domitz, when duke Adolph Frederick, and his brother, thought proper to ſend a deputation to that general, congratulating him upon his arrival, (though they would undoubtedly have been much better pleaſed with his abſence) and ſignifying their ſubmiſſion to his imperial majeſty. Walſtein received the deputies with more than uſual civility; ſaid that he was pleaſed to ſee ſuch a peaceable diſpoſition in the two dukes, which he would carefully repreſent to the emperor, his maſter; hoped they would be reſtored by this prudent conduct to his majeſty's favour; but inſiſted on their ſurrendering all their forts and ſtrong-holds, as Wiſmar, Domitz, Poel, &c. and furniſh the imperial army with ammunition and proviſions, in which caſe he would oblige his troops to obſerve ſtrict diſcipline.

IT was in vain for the deputies to declare that the country could not maintain ſuch large armies; Walſtein replied that he would conſult about that with general Arnheim. This was the ultima ratio of that haughty commander, who was now advanced

his troops into the heart of the country, and had taken up his quarters at the town of Schwan. The dukes thereupon convened the ſtates at Roſtock, in order to ſettle the contributions neceſſary for the ſupport of the imperial army. The time was unluckily waſted in debates, without coming to any reſolution; for terror and diſmay had deprived them of counſel. The imperial troops, finding no proviſion made for their ſubſiſtence, broke looſe like ſavage beaſts, and plundered and ravaged the miſerable country. The cruelties and enormities committed on this occaſion are ſhocking to deſcribe, and almoſt exceed belief, though related by reputable authors who lived at that time. Suffice it to ſay that unhappy Mecklenburg was one general ſcene of deſolation; and to complete the miſery of the inhabitants, the Danes as they retired out of the country laid waſte and deſtroyed what they could not take with them, in order to prevent its being of any ſervice to the imperialiſts. The whole country being thus over-run with an hoſtile army, from whom no ſentiments of pity or moderation were expected, moſt of the nobility retired for ſhelter to Lubeck, Roſtock, or Wiſmar.

The dukes deliver up all their fortreſſes to the imperial generals.

But Wiſmar was ſoon delivered up to the imperial army, and this event was followed by the ſurrender of Domitz, the principal fortreſs in Mecklenburg. The latter had been inveſted by an imperial officer named Henry Schlik, to whom Oberberg the commandant, deſpairing of ſuccours, ſurrendered without making any defence. Duke Adolph Frederick would have been glad if that place had held out till he had ſent orders to the governor for delivering up the fort, which he apprehended would be a particular teſtimony of his ſubmiſſion to his imperial majeſty: he confirmed however the capitulation, and made it his own act and deed. The city of Roſtock preſerved itſelf from the inconveniency of an imperial garriſon, by means of a very large ſum of money which was granted to Walſtein. The caſtle of Butzow was beſieged by general Arnheim: duke John Albert, to ſhow his diſpoſition to favour the imperialiſts, aſſiſted them with military ſtores, and the garriſon was ſoon obliged to ſurrender. In the month of November Arnheim ſent an officer to duke

Adolph Frederick, deſiring him to admit an imperial garriſon into the iſland and fortreſs of Poel; which the duke readily complied with, requeſting that the general would ſignify his entire ſubmiſſion to his imperial majeſty *.

The dukes of Mecklenburg receive intelligence that the emperor intends to proſcribe them.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the dukes of Mecklenburg had received intelligence from ſome princes, their friends and relations, that the emperor was incenſed againſt them to ſuch a degree as to threaten to diſpoſſeſs them of their hereditary dominions; adviſing them at the ſame time to ſend deputies to Vienna, in order to appeaſe his imperial majeſty's reſentment. News of ſuch dreadful conſequence could not but greatly alarm thoſe princes; accordingly they followed the advice of their friends, and nominated their reſpective deputies, to wait upon the emperor, and to apologize for their conduct; at the ſame time they applied to the elector of Saxony for his mediation on this occaſion; and the elector was ſo generous as to write to his imperial majeſty in their favour.

Debates in the imperial council with regard to the dukes of Mecklenburg.

BUT the extraordinary ſucceſs with which the imperial arms had been crowned throughout Germany, had intoxicated Ferdinand to ſuch a degree, that, forgetful of the mutability of fortune, he laid aſide all ſentiments of moderation, and determined no longer to diſſemble the implacable reſentment which he had conceived againſt the dukes of Mecklenburg. He therefore conſulted his miniſters in council, whether they judged it conſiſtent with his intereſt to proceed againſt the two dukes as guilty of treaſon, and transfer their dominions to Albert Walſtein, who had done him ſuch ſignal ſervices.

Arguments againſt depriving the dukes of their dominions.

THE members of this council, moſt diſtinguiſhed for their ſagacity, gave their opinion as follows: "That the dukes of Meck-
"lenburg were of a very illuſtrious and ancient family, allied by
"blood and other connexions to moſt of the kings and princes
"of chriſtendom, having ruled over the country in which they
"reſided above eight hundred years: that they had committed
"no greater crime than the other ſtates of Lower Saxony; that

* Beehr, Franck.

the

" the princes of that circle would therefore wonder and enquire,
" why his imperial majeſty ſhould puniſh thoſe two brothers
" only, and ſend them into baniſhment with their innocent
" wives and children: that the kings of Denmark and Sweden,
" and even the whole electoral college, would proteſt againſt
" ſuch a meaſure: that this would be the means of preventing
" a peace with Denmark, and calling the Swede into Germany:
" it would greatly tend to inflame the ſecret jealouſies and ſuſ-
" picions of the electors and princes of the empire; for ſince
" the duke of Friedland (Walſtein) boaſted among his partiſans,
" that there was no farther occaſion for electors and princes in
" Germany, nor for uncovering in their preſence, and that there
" ought to be only one monarch in the empire, as in France
" and Spain; and ſince this Friedland had begun to domineer
" throughout Germany, with ſuch arrogance and licentiouſneſs,
" as to deſpiſe the imperial mandates, unleſs they be agreeable
" to his palate, managing all affairs by his own arbitrary will
" and pleaſure; all the electors and princes have expreſſed great
" uneaſineſs and dejection of mind, and have often preferred
" their complaints to the imperial throne: and now if they
" ſhould find that his moſt ſacred majeſty had heaped more
" honours and more power upon Friedland than were conſiſtent
" with the imperial capitulation; and that his benevolence to-
" wards that general had been carried to ſuch an extreme as to
" grant him new dignities, provinces, and dominions, inſtead of
" chaſtiſing him as they expected, for the enormous crimes and
" outrages which he had ſo frequently committed; and that
" he was to be inveſted with ſo opulent a duchy, and with ſuch
" extenſive territories as had always been the cuſtom of the em-
" pire, in caſe of forfeiture, to grant to the next a-kin; the
" conſequence certainly would be, that the vain boaſts and taunts
" thrown out by Walſtein againſt the electors and princes of the
" empire, would be deemed to ſpring originally from the ſu-
" preme head; thoſe electors and princes would therefore take
" up arms againſt his imperial majeſty, for abetting and ſupport-
" ing a private man, who had been raiſed from nothing by his
" gene-

" generoſity, and had now attained to ſuch a pitch of power, as
" to ſecure all the military in his intereſt by the ſweat and blood
" of the poor; and to beſtow ſuch largeſſes on his creatures at
" court and in the army, that in a ſhort time the Germanic
" conſtitution muſt be diſſolved; and the whole empire become
" the hereditary patrimony of the houſe of Auſtria: neither will
" foreign monarchs, nor the electors and princes of the empire,
" have reaſon to form any ſuch ſuſpicion, if his imperial majeſty
" ſhould vouchſafe to forgive the ſuppliant dukes of Mecklen-
" burg as well as the other ſtates of the circle of Lower Saxony,
" who were equally guilty of extending the plan of ſelf-defence
" beyond the limits of their province; this indulgence will be
" the means of reſtoring mutual concord, love, and benevo-
" lence: which may be the more eaſily effected, as his imperial
" majeſty is no way indebted to Walſtein for any part of the
" expences of the war, and conſequently has no occaſion to
" mortgage the duchy of Mecklenburg to him upon that ſcore;
" for the money which he advanced, he has long ſince received
" or extorted from the ſtates of Lower Saxony; ſo that if a fair
" account were ſettled, he would be found greatly indebted to
" his imperial majeſty: that the dukes of Mecklenburg have
" not as yet been juridically heard in their own defence, as they
" ought to be according to the imperial capitulations, and there-
" fore it would be depriving them of their territories and
" eſtates, without due cognizance of the cauſe to grant the in-
" veſtiture of them to Walſtein, with free power of diſpoſing
" of them for himſelf and his heirs according to his will and
" pleaſure: that if his imperial majeſty ſhould denounce a
" ſentence whereby the dukes of Mecklenburg were to be
" declared guilty of rebellion and other high crimes, (though
" they had been never legally convicted) and to be put under
" the ban, unleſs they make an abſolute ſubmiſſion; it would
" be concluded, from the nature of ſuch proſcription, that peace
" was not ſincerely intended, conſequently the war would be
" revived with greater fury than ever, a war of a more danger-
" ous tendency, which might occaſion the ruin of his imperial
" majeſty,

" majeſty, and his whole family, together with the ſubverſion " of the catholic religion, ſhould the fortune of war, than " which nothing is more uncertain, prove propitious to his ene- " mies: neither does it ſeem equitable or prudent, that a pri- " vate perſon, grown inſolent beyond meaſure ſince he has been " loaded with honours and poſſeſſions, ſhould be ſtill raiſed by " his imperial majeſty to ſuch a pinnacle of power, that it " would be afterwards difficult, or rather impoſſible to pull " him down, in caſe his future conduct towards his imperial " majeſty required it; becauſe of the vaſt income of his " eſtate, the multitude of his vaſſals, the conveniency of " his harbours, and his connexions with potent neighbours; " more adviſable would it be therefore for the emperor to for- " give the two dukes, only puniſhing them by a fine, " which may be given to Walſtein, with a few towns by way " of mortgage: ſhould that general not be content with this " or ſome ſuch preſent, there is great reaſon to apprehend that " his expectations will not be ſatisfied with the grant of the " whole duchy of Mecklenburg, but that he will ſtill graſp at " ſomething farther, and therefore it is better to bear his reſent- " ment at firſt than laſt; ſince examples are not wanting to " prove, that princes raiſing their ſervants too high, have often " repented of it when too late." Theſe were the ſentiments of the wiſer part of the council, and the event afterwards ſhowed that their judgment was well founded.

Arguments for giving the duchy of Mecklenburg to Walſtein.

ON the other hand, one of Walſtein's adherents ſtood up, and thus delivered the ſentiments of his party: " There are three " things, O auguſt emperor, to be conſidered in this affair: the " crime committed by the dukes of Mecklenburg: the great ſer- " vices which the duke of Friedland has performed for the houſe " of Auſtria; and the extraordinary advantage which will ac- " crue to your imperial majeſty from conferring the duchy of " Mecklenburg on that general. The crime of the dukes of Meck- " lenburg is notorious; they have paid no obedience to your im- " perial mandates; they have cheriſhed and encouraged the " Daniſh party; they have obſtructed, as much as they poſſibly " could, the progreſs of your arms, and of the catholic league:

" for

" for all which your moſt ſacred majeſty hath a full right to
" proceed againſt them with ſeverity, and to deprive them of
" their dominions. Either there muſt be an example made
" of ſome of the princes of the empire, or they will be ever
" ready to take up arms againſt their ſovereign, while they
" know they may do it with impunity. Should fortune favour
" them, they will ſtrip your imperial majeſty of your dignity
" and eſtate: ſhould they be overpowered, they will have re-
" courſe to ſupplication; and aſking pardon for their tranſ-
" greſſion, they will go unpuniſhed. Under ſuch favourable
" circumſtances, they will try their fortune; but they would
" not be ſo daring ſhould they but ſee the ſword impend-
" ing over their heads. Rewards and chaſtiſements, O auguſt
" emperor, are the very ſoul of government: you will now diſ-
" charge both duties, by inflicting a proper puniſhment on the
" dukes of Mecklenburg, and by granting their forfeited terri-
" tories to your general Walſtein, as a juſt recompence for his
" great ſervices and his military exploits. For, from his early
" youth, he was prodigal of his blood and his life in the cauſe
" of your family; he ſerved in Hungary under Rudolphus; and
" in Iſtria, O emperor, under your auſpices; during the rebel-
" lion in Bohemia and Moravia, he ſignalized himſelf by ſuch
" extraordinary exertions of zeal, that ſcarce any ſimilar in-
" ſtance can be met with in hiſtory. For we never read of any
" ſubordinate commander that raiſed and maintained a hundred
" thouſand men without expence to his ſovereign. He has re-
" ſcued, out of the hands of your imperial majeſty's enemies,
" your auguſt family, together with all your kingdoms and pro-
" vinces, which moſt people thought to be irrecoverably loſt.
" He has reduced the whole empire to a due ſtate of obedience;
" he has made you ſupreme monarch from the Adriatic to the
" German ocean; he has increaſed your treaſure with the tri-
" butes exacted in conquered provinces; he has diſtributed
" largeſſes to the military officers and ſoldiers, whereby he has
" rendered them chearful and alert in bearing military fatigues;
" and has acquired, among all ranks in the army, an authority,

" mixed with love and reſpect. Should he be ſnatched away by
" death, you have no general, O auguſt emperor, to replace him:
" ſhould you diſmiſs him, no other officer will dare to ſucceed in his
" place, as it is evident the troops on ſuch an occaſion would mu-
" tiny, and thus you would loſe the fruit of all your victories. Nei-
" ther is there any danger to be apprehended in granting the inveſ-
" titure of Mecklenburg to the duke of Friedland. The electoral
" college will be ſatisfied with interceding for the abdicated dukes:
" The king of Sweden is engaged in the Poliſh war: the king
" of Denmark, as Walſtein himſelf affirms, will be glad to con-
" clude a peace without comprehending the dukes of Mecklen-
" burg; and provided he recovers his own territories, he will
" reſign his allies, O emperor, to your mercy. Your majeſty
" will thereby gain this advantage, that thoſe parts will become
" ſubject to a grateful prince, entirely devoted to your intereſt,
" to a prince whom you may ſafely truſt in all difficult conjunc-
" tures, and who becoming poſſeſt of ſuch convenient harbours,
" will by his power and authority enable your majeſty to com-
" plete that undertaking which count Schwartzenberg * is now
" concerned in at Lubeck, to the great advantage and emolu-
" ment of the ſacred Roman empire, of the kingdom of Spain,
" and of both branches of the houſe of Auſtria. Neither does
" Friedland want a claim for retaining the duchies which he
" has occupied, till they have defrayed all the expences of the
" war. This being the real ſtate of things, it ſhould be re-
" ſolved, that your imperial majeſty is in conſcience obliged,
" eſpecially as the reſtoration of the catholic religion is con-
" cerned, to do juſtice on the preſent occaſion, by puniſhing
" guilt, and rewarding merit. Beſides, as this very ſtep will
" enable you to refund the duke of Friedland the expences
" he has been at in this war, I apprehend it to be incumbent
" on your imperial majeſty to inveſt him as ſoon as poſſible
" with the eſtates and territories of the dukes of Mecklenburg;
" you may ſafely confide that this will be a meaſure ex-

* See p. 232.

"tremely acceptable to the ſupreme Being, as conducive both to "the intereſt of true religion and to that of the ſtate; and your "imperial majeſty will be rewarded by the Omnipotent Being "with length of days, extent of empire, a farther ſucceſſion of "victories, and with eternal rewards in the other life*."

The emperor grants the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mecklenburg to Walſtein by way of mortgage.

SUCH were the harangues made in the imperial council upon this important occaſion; Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his reſentment againſt the dukes of Mecklenburg, long remained in ſuſpence which courſe he ſhould take, from the apprehenſion of the conſequences; but Walſtein's party, ſupported by the zeal of the clergy, who flattered themſelves with the hopes of the reſtitution of the eccleſiaſtical livings in the hands of the proteſtants, determined his imperial majeſty at length to create Walſtein a prince of the empire, and to grant him the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mecklenburg and of the dukedom of Sagan in Sileſia. This great tranſaction happened on the 19th of
1628. January 1628, at the imperial villa of Brandeiſs in Bohemia, where the emperor then reſided. The ceremony of inveſtiture being performed, when Ferdinand ſat down to table he deſired Walſtein to be covered, as duke of Mecklenburg; and orders were forthwith ſent to the generals Aldringer and Walmerode to ſet out for the duchy of Mecklenburg, and to deliver up that country to Walſtein as a conquered province, to be held and poſſeſſed by the right of war, till his imperial majeſty was indemnified for all expences and damages incurred in the reduction of it. And as Walſtein had ſpared no expences in raiſing and maintaining troops for the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria, his imperial majeſty was willing that the duchy of Mecklenburg ſhould be delivered into his poſſeſſion, to be held as an hypotheca, or mortgage, till he was reimburſed his expences; moreover that the ſtates of the country ſhould be releaſed from their oaths of allegiance to the late dukes, and yield homage to Walſtein, their new ſovereign.

* Beehr, Franck.

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In conſequence of this reſolution, the imperial commiſſaries, Altringer and Walmerode, immediately ſet out for Mecklenburg; and upon their arrival at Boitzenburg made public the imperial edict for creating Walſtein duke of Mecklenburg, and executing the ban againſt Adolph Frederick and his brother. This publication was made in all the churches and market-places throughout the country. They then ſummoned the ſtates, under the moſt heavy penalties, to appear before them at Guſtrow on the 23d of March: terrified with theſe menaces, the ſtates conſulted the two dukes, how they were to conduct themſelves on this melancholy occaſion; and the anſwer they received was, that what could not be remedied muſt be endured. On Monday the 20th of March, the ſtates aſſembled at Guſtrow, where the town was full of ſoldiers to enforce the imperial edict. About eleven o'clock the commiſſaries came into court, and read the imperial decree, acquainting the ſtates with all that had paſſed at Brandeiſs, concerning the inveſtiture of Walſtein with the ſovereignty of that country. Notice then was given them by Walſtein's proxies, the baron of St. Julian, Juſtus Luder, and Henry Nieman, doctors of law, that they were ready there to receive homage and the uſual oaths of allegiance from the ſtates to Albert Walſtein, now duke of Mecklenburg, who was prevented by the important concerns of his imperial majeſty from aſſiſting there in perſon.

Commiſſaries ſent to execute the imperial decree againſt the two dukes.

The ſtates were thunderſtruck with this propoſal, and to their praiſe it muſt be ſaid, that, notwithſtanding the many diſputes they had maintained with duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, with regard to their privileges, they ſhowed a tenderneſs and affection for their ancient ſovereigns, almoſt ſuperior to what could be expected upon the occaſion. The hall was ſurrounded with troops, horſe and foot, and the ſevereſt puniſhments were threatened in caſe of diſobedience to the imperial mandate. They had notwithſtanding the courage and reſolution to demand a day or two to conſider, the matter propoſed being of ſuch weight and importance as never before came under their deliberation. Their requeſt was granted, and they immediately ac-

The ſtates of Mecklenburg are compelled to take the oaths of allegiance to Walſtein.

quainted the dukes with all that had paſſed. After many conſultations they met the commiſſaries again on the 27th of March, when one of their members delivered their ſentiments in the following terms: "With all obedience and veneration due to "his imperial majeſty, we humbly beg to be informed what "the ſums amounted to, which the duke of Friedland has ex-"pended during the war, in the emperor's ſervice; thoſe, if "rightly atteſted, and within any bounds of moderation, we are "ready to diſcharge, and give proper ſecurity for the payment. "For you will pleaſe to conſider, my lords, that this country has "been governed almoſt a thouſand years, nay beyond any record "of hiſtory, when it was yet in the darkneſs of idolatry, by the "family of our moſt ſerene dukes. The ſame noble ſtem above "three hundred years ago was adorned by the emperor Charles "IV. with the ducal dignity, and became ſo illuſtrious by the "valour and virtues of her princes, as to be connected by blood "and alliances with the greateſt kings in Europe, and with moſt "of the electors and princes of the empire; and from their "ſplendour and dignity we ourſelves have derived great honour. "When therefore we come ſeriouſly to reflect on the many be-"nefits and advantages we have derived from this illuſtrious fa-"mily, and the ſignal virtues by which our legitimate princes "and lords have merited the favour of the whole Roman em-"pire, and its head; we flatter ourſelves that ſtill means may be "found through the prudence and wiſdom of our ſerene princes, "to throw themſelves into the arms of his imperial majeſty, "and if they have given him any offence, to acknowledge their "error, and obtain forgiveneſs; and we humbly ſupplicate that "the fountain of mercy and virtue for which our great emperor "Ferdinand is ſo highly conſpicuous, may not be dried up, but "ſtill left open to thoſe princes now in the vigour of life, to "the eternal honour and praiſe of his imperial majeſty. This "being the caſe, we, the provincial ſtates, moſt fervently intreat "his imperial majeſty to pardon our dukes; and we beſeech you, "my lords commiſſioners, to repreſent this our humble petition "to the imperial throne; and to grant us a farther delay as to

"the

"the matter concerning the duke of Friedland, till we have re-
"ceived his moſt ſacred majeſty's anſwer."

THIS affecting ſpeech made no impreſſion on the minds of the commiſſioners; they ſternly replied, that it was not in their power to grant ſuch a delay; that the ſtates muſt obey the imperial decree, unleſs they were willing to behold their country laid waſte, and themſelves involved in the guilt of rebellion. All arguments and intreaties proving ineffectual, and the ſtates being threatened with the loſs of their lives and eſtates, which would be rendering no ſervice to the dukes their ſovereigns, found themſelves under the melancholy neceſſity of ſubmitting to an arbitrary and tyrannical power, and of yielding homage and allegiance to Albert, duke of Friedland, in the ſame manner as they had done to duke Adolph Frederick and his brother. The commiſſioners, in his imperial majeſty's name, releaſed them from their former oath of allegiance, and promiſed that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion, and all their juſt privileges. This tranſaction happened on the twenty-ninth of March 1628.

The two dukes with their families driven into exile.

THIS great revolution in Mecklenburg being thus ſettled by force of arms, the baron of St. Julian, Walſtein's deputy, gave notice, on the fourth of April, to duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, immediately to quit the country, together with their wives and children. The ducheſs Eleonora Maria, conſort of duke John Albert, was then pregnant and very near her time; ſo that ſhe could not undertake a long journey, without expoſing herſelf and her burden to imminent danger. The dukes therefore humbly entreated that they might be permitted to ſtay in the country of Mecklenburg three or four months longer, till they could procure a place of ſhelter; in the mean time they would reſide on the prefectures, or diſtricts which had been ſettled as dowers on their conſorts; where they promiſed not to concern themſelves with public affairs, nor give any diſturbance to the new government. But Walſtein having poſitively inſiſted on the expulſion of the dukes, the baron of St. Julian made anſwer, that it was out of his power to comply with their

2 demand.

demand. The two brothers, perceiving the unrelenting diſpoſition of their enemies, began to prepare for their departure, but determined to leave their conſorts behind them. The baron of St. Julian, being appriſed of this reſolution, ordered the two ducheſſes to quit the province within the term of eight days, under the ſevereſt penalties; and the like orders were ſent to Sophia, ducheſs of Holſtein, the mother of the two dukes. They were obliged to comply, and the two exiled brothers ſet out together with their diſtreſſed ducheſſes. But before their departure they wrote to the emperor, on the fourth of April, repreſenting their lamentable condition; and entreating his majeſty to take pity of their diſtreſs. At the ſame time they ſent letters and memorials to the electors and moſt of the princes of the empire, giving an account of the cruel treatment of the imperial commiſſaries, and earneſtly ſupplicating their friends to intercede with the court of Vienna in their behalf. They firſt repaired to Magdeburg, where they made but a ſhort ſtay, and afterwards parted: Duke Adolph Frederick ſet out for Dreſden, and met with a moſt kind reception and ſafe retreat from John George I. elector of Saxony. Duke John Albert went to his relations the princes of Anhalt, by whom he was kindly entertained, and took up his reſidence in the caſtle of Hatzkerode: here his ducheſs was brought to-bed of a daugh-
1628. ter, named Anna Sophia, on the twenty-ninth of September *.

* Khevenhuller, Caraffa, Lundorp, Beehr, Franck.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

From the PROSCRIPTION and EXILE of the DUKES of MECKLENBURG to the SWEDISH WAR under GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Continuation of the Daniſh war. Walſtein takes poſſeſſion of the duchy of Mecklenburg. His arrogant behaviour. The electoral college and ſeveral princes intercede in favour of the proſcribed dukes. Walſtein puſhes on the war againſt the king of Denmark. Peace between the imperialiſts and Danes concluded at Lubeck. The emperor publiſhes a manifeſto againſt duke Adolph Frederick and his brother. Apologetical letter from duke John Albert to the emperor. The duchy of Mecklenburg transferred in full property to Walſtein. Edict of reſtitution. Diet of Ratiſbon. Walſtein deprived of the command of the army. The dukes of Mecklenburg publiſh their apology.

1628. Continuation of the Daniſh war.

WHILST this diſmal tragedy was acting in Mecklenburg, the Daniſh war ſtill continued, and Chriſtian IV. began to make freſh efforts in defence of his dominions. Walſtein had hitherto carried all before him like an impetuous torrent; and though the duchy of Pomerania had not been concerned in the alliance of Lower Saxony, he poſſeſſed himſelf of that province, where he behaved with as little moderation as in Mecklenburg; hence it became generally feared that the emperor's deſign was nothing leſs than the reduction of all Germany. Stralſund being the only town in Pomerania, that had refuſed to admit an imperial garriſon, Walſtein reſolved to reduce it by force, and to puniſh the inhabitants for obſtructing his ſcheme

to eſtabliſh a naval power. For, as Stralſund is a very good ſea-port, he flattered himſelf that by getting poſſeſſion of that town, and by means of the harbours he had already ſeized in Mecklenburg, he ſhould be able to equip a fleet, and at one ſtroke to give laws to the kings of Sweden and Denmark. Fired with this ambitious idea, he procured from the emperor a patent of admiral of the Baltic. In order to effect the tranſporting of the imperial troops, count Schwartzenberg, an able miniſter, was diſpatched by Ferdinand to the Hanſe Towns, and particularly to Lubeck, to demand ſuch ſhipping as might be needful on the occaſion, and promiſing them ſeveral privileges in the emperor's name, provided they would confine their commerce to the coaſts of Spain, and the countries dependent on the houſe of Auſtria. The Hanſe Towns made anſwer, that they had alliances with neighbouring princes, and it would be highly imprudent in them who ſubſiſted by a peaceful intercourſe with all mankind, to add fewel to war. The inhabitants of Stralſund ſent deputies to the emperor, to prevent the ill effects of Walſtein's indignation; the Hanſe towns alſo interpoſed in their favour, and would have ſucceeded, had not the imperial general, from the natural violence of his temper, been determined to take the town by force. It was a place of the greateſt ſtrength, and open to ſuccours by ſea, yet he vainly boaſted, that he would make himſelf maſter of it, though it hung in the air from heaven by a chain of adamant. He therefore carried on his aſſaults with all the vigour that reſentment could ſuggeſt. But Chriſtian IV. had concluded a private treaty with Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to ſupport the Stralſunders, who defended themſelves with the utmoſt reſolution and bravery: Walſtein, finding that the town continually received freſh ſupplies by ſea, thought proper to deſiſt from his enterprize, after having lain three months before the place, half ruined a numerous army, and greatly injured his military reputation *.

Siege of Stralſund.

* Beehr, Franck, Khevenhuller, Heiſſe, Barre, Bougeant.

Walſtein takes poſſeſſion of the duchy of Mecklenburg.

WALSTEIN was greatly mortified at this unexpected diſgrace, but reſolved to comfort himſelf by taking poſſeſſion of his new dominions. He therefore marched his army towards the duchy of Mecklenburg, and on the eighteenth of July, with extraordinary pomp, made his public entry into Guſtrow, taking up his reſidence in the ducal palace. Here he was waited upon by the deputies of the ſtates, who, after the uſual compliments upon his arrival, humbly entreated him to take into his conſideration the diſtreſſed ſituation of the province, already loaded with debts, and exhauſted by the quartering of ſo many armies; hoping, moreover, that he would maintain them in the poſſeſſion of their religion and privileges. Walſtein made them a favourable anſwer; "that he would take care they ſhould not be "overburthened with troops; that he had not as yet come to a "final ſettlement with the emperor, in relation to the duchy "of Mecklenburg, but, as ſoon as matters could be ultimately "determined, he made no doubt but he ſhould be able to ad"juſt every thing to their ſatisfaction." Theſe, however, were only ſpecious declarations; for, under pretence of defending the country, he raiſed ſix thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, for the maintaining of which the exhauſted province was obliged to grant a monthly ſubſidy of thirty thouſand dollars. Thus the ſtates were loaded with impoſitions, without daring to utter the leaſt complaint, or to plead inability, as had been conſtantly their practice when the dukes called upon them for the neceſſary ſupplies in the defence of their country. Walſtein, at this time, had adviſed the emperor, not only to have a quadruple army at the four corners of the empire, but likewiſe to appoint almoſt double the uſual number of officers. Moſt of theſe were the general's creatures, and as they could not live on an empty title, the unhappy diſtricts, in which the imperial troops took up their quarters, were fleeced with the utmoſt rigour, and when they became really unable to anſwer any farther demands, they were proceeded againſt with military execution: this was particularly the caſe in Mecklenburg, where the haughty general was deaf to the complaints of the miſerable inhabitants;

the conſequence was ſuch, that the greater part of them deſerted their dwellings, ſome flying to foreign countries, others enliſting in the army, with this view, that ſince they had nothing now left for themſelves, they might be entitled to pillage, and come in for a ſhare of the public ſpoil. As Walſtein expected at this time that the emperor would ſoon inveſt him with the abſolute and hereditary ſovereignty of the province, he began to new model things after his own fancy and pleaſure, and ordered the Calviniſt church, which duke John Albert had erected for the uſe of himſelf and houſhold, to be entirely demoliſhed, and with the materials built a new wing, which was wanting to the ducal palace. He likewiſe made ſeveral regulations concerning the police, enjoining ſtrict diſcipline to the troops, but introduced no innovation in matters of religion.

The dukes deſire the mediation of ſeveral princes.

In the mean time duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, finding that there was no poſſibility of recovering their territories by force of arms, began to move heaven and earth in hopes of appeaſing the emperor's wrath by humble petitions, and by writing to moſt of the princes of Europe, in connexion with the houſe of Auſtria, to intercede in their favour. On the twenty-fourth of May, they wrote from Magdeburg, a very long epiſtle to Philip IV. king of Spain, ſetting forth their whole conduct from the beginning of the diſturbances, promiſing intire ſubmiſſion and allegiance to the emperor their head, and humbly intreating his catholic majeſty to intercede in their behalf. They ſent letters and memorials of the ſame nature to all the electors, and to the moſt reſpectable princes of Germany. But duke John Albert took a more humiliating ſtep, for he ſent a faithful agent, John Cothmanus, to Walſtein, acquainting him, that he and his brother were making intereſt to be admitted to an audience from his imperial majeſty; in hopes of obtaining forgiveneſs of any treſpaſs they might have committed, for which they were ready to make due ſubmiſſion; and as the imperial general (Walſtein) had ſo often profeſſed friendſhip towards him and his brother, they hoped he would not oppoſe or obſtruct this ſtep towards a reconciliation, nor ſuffer

them

them to be baniſhed for ever from their paternal inheritance, but rather to uſe his amicable interpoſition in their behalf, which would be a means of obliging them and their poſterity, and they would take care to ſatisfy him, as far as their abilities would permit, for the expences of the war.

Walſtein's arrogant behaviour to a deputy from duke John Albert.

FURNISHED with this commiſſion, Cothmannus ſet out for Guſtrow, and, on the twenty-eighth of July, waited on Albert Wingierſky, Walſtein's locum-tenens, to whom he delivered duke John Albert's letter to Walſtein. At five in the evening he was ſent for to the palace, where he was introduced to Walſtein, in duke John Albert's own apartment, and expoſed the nature of his commiſſion. Upon which the haughty general broke out into a paſſion, and anſwered him in a menacing tone: "Mind what I ſay; I will diſpatch you in a few words: his "imperial majeſty has ſent me hither to puniſh, and not to in- "tercede for rebels. Therefore I order you to trouble me no "more with ſuch meſſages; otherwiſe you may atone for your "temerity with the loſs of your head." Cothmannus, not at all terrified, ſaid he had expected a milder anſwer, conſidering the friendly diſpoſition which the general had often by letters expreſſed towards the dukes; he was going to proceed, when Walſtein interrupted him, and deſired him to depart from his preſence, for he had received his anſwer *.

The duke acquaints the emperor, by a ſupplicatory epiſtle, with Walſtein's behaviour.

So arrogant a behaviour could not but excite the indignation of duke John Albert. He was then, with his conſort Eleonora Maria, at the caſtle of Hatzkerode, from whence he wrote a ſuppliant letter, on the thirteenth of September, to the emperor Ferdinand: "He told his majeſty, that he had expected quite a "different treatment from Walſtein, imagining that general would "rather be diſpoſed to intercede for him and his brother with his "imperial majeſty, to the end that they might be reſtored to "their territories and poſſeſſions, which, without any vain boaſt, "had been held upwards of two thouſand years by his anceſtors, "the kings of the Obotrites, the Venedi, and the Heruli,

* Chemnitz, Khevenhuller, Beehr, Franck.

" as alſo by the dukes of Mecklenburg, created princes of the
" pire, and by the divine favour preſerved in a conſtant ſucceſ-
" ſion in one uninterrupted line; that the general's anſwer was
" ſuch as never had been heard by any elector or prince of the
" empire; ſuch as never had been given them by any crowned
" head, not even by his imperial majeſty: he had moreover
" been informed, that Walſtein had begun to pull down the
" palace of Guſtrow, though it had been built by his great
" uncle Ulric, with ſuch elegance of conſtruction, that no
" prince might be aſhamed to reſide in it; and that upon
" the whole, he behaved as if he had been inveſted with
" the full dominion of the province, and not as if it had
" been granted to him only by way of mortgage, ſo that
" he greatly exceeded the terms of the imperial commiſſion:
" his moſt ſacred majeſty may therefore eaſily imagine what
" deep concern all theſe things muſt give to him, and his
" brother, when, from their inviolate fidelity to his auguſt fami-
" ly, they had flattered themſelves with the hopes of far diffe-
" rent uſage. For his part, he reſigned his caſe to an all-ruling
" Providence, and now preferred his juſt complaints before the
" imperial throne, humbly beſeeching his majeſty to take the
" above particulars into conſideration, to put a ſtop to the de-
" vaſtation of a diſtreſſed province, to reſtore things to their for-
" mer ſtate, to let his indignation againſt him and his brother
" ſubſide, and to take them again into his favour, by reſtoring
" them to the poſſeſſion of their ancient dominions: and he had
" ſo much the greater reaſon to expect this indulgence, as his
" imperial majeſty was extremely well known to be of a moſt
" clement diſpoſition, and moreover he and his brother had the
" honour of being nearly related to him, by the paternal as
" well as maternal line, ſince, being both deſcended from the
" emperor Albert II. by the princeſſes Anna and Sophia,
" grand daughters to that monarch by his daughter Elizabeth,
" and ſiſters to Uladiſlaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, an-
" ceſtor to his imperial majeſty; therefore, upon the account of
" conſanguinity, he hoped his imperial majeſty would be moved

" to

"to extend his mercy to him and his brother, both deſcended "from the auguſt houſe of Auſtria, and both ready to ſhew their "fidelity and allegiance to that family, as well as to acknowledge "ſo ſignal a favour *."

The electoral college and ſeveral princes intercede in vain in favour of the proſcribed dukes.

SUCH was the humble ſtyle of this oppreſſed and greatly injured prince; but ſupplication and entreaty could make no impreſſion on the mind of the haughty monarch, whoſe heart had been hardened by too long a ſeries of proſperity. Ferdinand did not deign to anſwer the duke, but the electoral college paid due attention to his complaints. The elector of Cologne was very much incenſed againſt Walſtein for his haughty and inſolent behaviour, which induced him to write to the elector of Mentz, begging he would intercede with the emperor at the next general diet, to be held at Bingen, in favour of the dukes of Mecklenburg. Both thoſe princes wrote to the emperor in favour of the two brothers, and even the archduke Leopold interceded in their behalf. But their greateſt friend was the elector of Saxony, who, not only made ſtrong repreſentations to Ferdinand in their defence, but, as we have already mentioned, granted a ſafe and generous retreat to duke Adolph Frederick in Meiſſen.

Complaint of the princes of the empire againſt Walſtein.

WALSTEIN's ſupercilious treatment of the dukes of Mecklenburg, gave great offence to all the princes of Germany. They complained very loudly of the exactions and ravages committed by the troops under his command, and the unbounded rapacity of his officers. The emperor being daily importuned with complaints of theſe grievances, yielded to the repeated ſollicitations of the electors, and appointed commiſſioners to enquire into thoſe exceſſes, as well as to reſtore a proper diſcipline in the imperial army. For it had been reported, that many of the foreign officers under Walſtein, had loaded whole carts with gold and ſilver, and conveyed the amaſſed treaſure into their own countries. The commiſſaries began their inquiry, and condemned ſome of thoſe officers, but the greater part of them, alledging that they were

* Beehr, Franck.

ordered

ordered by the general to take the field directly, evaded the examination, ſo that many provinces of the empire lay ſtill expoſed to the inſatiable avarice of the military commanders *.

Walſtein puſhes on the war againſt the king of Denmark.

WALSTEIN, being ſenſible that this inquiry was in reality levelled at himſelf, for having connived at thoſe abuſes, reſolved to recover the emperor's good graces, by acting vigorouſly againſt the Danes, who, being elated with the ſucceſs they had met with in defending Stralſund, had opened the campaign on the ſide of Pomerania. Chriſtian IV. having received conſiderable reinforcements from his allies, the kings of England † and Sweden, and the republic of Holland, equipped a fleet, with which he made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Femeren. The imperial troops in the fort, conſiſting of five hundred men, were moſt of them maſſacred by the peaſants of Stormar. From thence the king proceeded to Eckelenfort, which he took, and, after poſſeſſing himſelf of the iſle of Uſedom and the town of Wolgaſt, he reſolved to intrench himſelf in this place, in order to ſtop the enemy's progreſs. But Walſtein, having put himſelf at the head of his army, marched with all expedition towards Wolgaſt, where he attacked the Daniſh king in his entrenchments, and gained a complete victory on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt. The engagement, which was obſtinate and bloody, laſted ſeven hours. Chriſtian embarked the remains of his ſhattered forces on board his fleet, and landed in Holſtein, highly exaſperated againſt the duke of that country, who had concluded an alliance with the emperor. Walſtein, having received intelligence of the king's motions, led his army back into Mecklenburg, intending to purſue the Danes once more into Holſtein. By the way he ſurpriſed the town of Roſtock, and garriſoned it with imperial troops, though

1628.

* Beehr, Franck.

† King Charles I. ſent over Sir Charles Morgan, in 1626, with ſix thouſand men, to the aſſiſtance of his uncle the king of Denmark, whom he had engaged to take part in the war, by a promiſe of ſubſidies. It is ſomething extraordinary that neither Rapin, Hume, nor Smollett take notice of theſe ſix thouſand men, nor of Sir Charles Morgan; but they are often mentioned by German hiſtorians, as alſo in Howel's Letters.

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it had paid a conſiderable ſum to preſerve its liberty. The two ſea-ports of Roſtock and Wiſmar being now in the emperor's poſſeſſion, Walſtein who had the pompous title of admiral of the Baltic, fitted out a ſmall ſquadron againſt the Danes, but his ſhips were diſperſed, partly by a ſtorm, and partly by the enemy. In his march through Mecklenburg he ordered the ſtates to be aſſembled, for the raiſing freſh ſupplies, and at the ſame time appointed Wingierſky his deputy for the government of the province. From thence he proceeded to Holſtein, and laid ſiege to Krempe, which, after an obſtinate defence, was obliged to ſurrender. In the mean time Chriſtian had undertaken the ſiege of Kiel by ſea and land, but meeting with a very obſtinate reſiſtance, and being unſucceſsful in all his aſſaults, he quitted that enterpriſe, in order to relieve the town of Stade, which was hard preſſed by Tilly. But this able general had taken ſuch precautions, that the king could throw no ſuccours into the place, which was defended by an Engliſh garriſon under the gallant Sir Charles Morgan. The king retired to Gluckſtadt, and the garriſon of Stade, being reduced to extremity, was obliged to capitulate: they marched out with military honours, and retired to Bremen. The imperial army then inveſted Gluckſtadt, the only town the Danes had now left on the continent; the place defended itſelf with extraordinary bravery, ſo that the enemy were obliged to deſiſt from their enterpriſe, and this proved the boundary of the imperial conqueſts.

The king of Denmark, after ſo many defeats and loſſes, began at length to think ſeriouſly of peace, which the emperor himſelf was not averſe to, being deſirous to employ his victorious troops in Italy, with a view of ſettling the diſpute about the ſucceſſion of the duke of Mantua *. Walſtein alſo judging that

* Upon the death of Vincent II. duke of Mantua, the ſucceſſion naturally devolved to his uncle Charles, duke of Nevers. But the Spaniards thought proper to ſupport the claim of the duke of Guaſtalla, deſcended from the houſe of Gonzaga, and devoted to their intereſt. The cauſe was referred to Ferdinand II. who ordained a ſequeſtration of the duchy, till ſentence was pronounced. The Spaniards prepared to take poſſeſſion of the duchy; but the duke of Nevers applied to France for aſſiſtance; this occaſioned a war, the particulars of which are foreign to our hiſtory.

the friendſhip of Chriſtian IV. might be of uſe to him in keeping poſſeſſion of the duchy of Mecklenburg, made offers underhand to that prince of promoting an accommodation between the emperor and his Daniſh majeſty, on condition that no mention of duke Adolph Frederick and his brother ſhould be made in the treaty. By ſo treacherous an agreement the imperial general ſacrificed the intereſts of his ſovereign to his own ambition; and Chriſtian IV. obtained terms by far more favourable than he could have naturally expected in his diſtreſſed ſituation *.

1629. Peace between the imperialiſts and Danes concluded at Lubeck.

CONFERENCES for peace were opened at Lubeck in the beginning of the year, and Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden had ſent his deputies to aſſiſt at theſe conferences, but they were haughtily refuſed admittance by the imperial miniſters, as the conteſt for the crown between that prince and Sigiſmund king of Poland ſtill ſubſiſted, who would not even deign to honour him with the regal title; little did they foreſee, that it would coſt the empire a deluge of blood to expiate that contempt, which was one of the chief cauſes of the king of Sweden's deſcent into Germany. The treaty of peace was at length concluded on the 12th of May on theſe terms: "The king of Denmark ſhall "not intermeddle in the affairs of the empire, except in what "relates to the duchy of Holſtein; the princes his ſons ſhall "renounce the poſſeſſion of the biſhoprics of the empire; nei-"ther the emperor nor the king ſhall make any demand on ac-"count of the expences of the war; the provinces and towns "taken from the king of Denmark ſhall be reſtored, and the "priſoners on both ſides releaſed without ranſom." By this treaty the duke of Bavaria was acknowledged elector of the empire; without making once mention of the elector Palatine *.

The dukes of Mecklenburg deſerted by Chriſtian IV.

BUT, to the eternal diſgrace of king Chriſtian, his kinſmen, and moſt faithful friends and allies, the dukes of Mecklenburg, who had been ſtripped of their dominions for eſpouſing his

* Heiſſe, Barre, Beehr, Khevenhuller, Caraffa.
† Barre, Pfeffel, Heiſſe, Beehr, Khevenhuller, Caraffa, Noris.

cauſe, were baſely deſerted. He ſacrificed on this occaſion every conſideration of gratitude and humanity to the ſordid views of private intereſt. He is ſaid to have entered into a ſecret engagement with Walſtein, for ſupporting that uſurper in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in return for the favourable terms which he obtained by that treaty *. The peace was proclaimed on the 7th of June, to the great ſatisfaction of the two crowns, but to the infinite mortification of duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, who ſaw their intereſts ſacrificed to Ferdinand's revenge, and to the ambition of Walſtein.

Freſh interceſſion of the electoral college and princes in favour of the dukes.

NOTWITHSTANDING this cruel deſertion, the dukes of Mecklenburg were not at all diſmayed, but ſtill continued to defend their rights by their pens, when the longer ſword had decided the cauſe in favour of their enemies. They entered into a paper war with the imperial court, which they carried on for ſome time with great ſpirit. Finding they could obtain no anſwer to their letters, and hearing that the emperor had appointed new commiſſaries to make a farther inquiry into their conduct, they wrote early this year to his imperial majeſty, begging he would grant them a hearing in their own defence, and pay no regard to the report of the commiſſaries; they concluded with moſt humbly ſupplicating his imperial majeſty's forgiveneſs: at the ſame time they wrote to the electors of Bavaria, and to Leopold archduke of Auſtria, intreating them to intercede in their behalf; a requeſt with which thoſe princes accordingly complied, and with the greateſt warmth, as appears by their letters to duke Adolph Frederick and his brother; but all to no purpoſe. The whole electoral college thereupon jointly applied to Ferdinand II. on the 13th of June, and uſed every argument to appeaſe

* Some hiſtorians apologiſe for his conduct upon the plea of abſolute neceſſity, ſince the emperor would by no means hear of his mediating for any of the German princes; and if he had not agreed to the terms of that haughty monarch, he muſt have expoſed himſelf and his ſubjects to utter deſtruction. But it is a miſtake to think that Denmark was then reduced to ſo low an ebb, as to be obliged to ſubmit to any terms; ſince the Daniſh iſlands were untouched, and the imperialiſts had no fleet to attack them.

that prince's wrath, and to reconcile him to the exiled brothers: they farther entreated that the dukes might not be condemned unheard, but be permitted to repair to Vienna, under a ſafe conduct, in order to make their defence in perſon. But Ferdinand continued implacable in his reſentment, and prejudiced againſt the two brothers beyond all hopes of reconciliation; in ſhort Walſtein's party were ſtill ſo powerful at court, as entirely to poſſeſs the ear of the ſovereign.

The emperor publiſhes a manifeſto, aſſigning his reaſons for proſcribing the dukes of Mecklenburg. 1629.

BUT the interpoſition of ſo many reſpectable princes was productive of this conſequence; that to ſave ſome appearance of moderation, the emperor publiſhed a manifeſto on the 9th of June, this very year, declaring his reaſons to the whole Germanic body, for proceeding to extremity againſt duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, and depriving them of their dominions. This piece is of a conſiderable length, and penned with the keeneſt reſentment. "It ſets out with a detail of all the "tranſactions in Lower Saxony, from the commencement of "the diſturbances, and charges the two dukes with being the "principal actors and abettors of the union of the circle, an "union under the appearance of ſelf-defence, calculated to "reſtore the proſcribed elector Palatine, and to commit open "hoſtilities againſt the head of the empire. The dukes are "farther accuſed of having refuſed to obey the imperial mandates; of having joined a foreign army, meaning the Danes, "with their own troops; of continuing in open rebellion ſo long "as they had any hopes of ſucceſs; and of having granted ſhelter, "aid, and aſſiſtance to the Daniſh forces even after the battle "of Lutter. They are likewiſe charged with having aſſiſted "count Mansfeld in croſſing the Elbe, and paſſing thro' their "country; with having oppoſed count Tilly in his operations "againſt the Danes, and delayed to make any ſubmiſſion, or to "ſurrender their ſtrong towns, till the imperial armies had penetrated into their dominions." Moſt of thoſe accuſations, eſpecially the principal of all, namely the ſhelter and aſſiſtance voluntarily granted to the Danes after the affair of Lutter, were unſupported by proofs, and had been poſitively denied by the dukes,

dukes, who appealed to the king of Denmark himſelf for the truth of the fact; and that prince was ſo candid as to juſtify them on that head; as we ſhall ſee hereafter. The emperor notwithſtanding pays no regard to the ſolemn declaration of thoſe unfortunate princes, but without deigning to hear them in their own defence, as they had frequently entreated him, and as an act of juſtice due even to the meaneſt ſubject, he concludes his manifeſto with declaring the two brothers guilty of open rebellion, by waging war againſt their ſovereign lord, the emperor of the Romans; and in puniſhment for their heinous crime, and by the plenitude of his power, without even conſulting with the imperial diet, he deprives them of their hereditary dominions, which he transfers in full property, having granted them before only as a mortgage, to Albert duke of Friedland, inveſting this general with all the rights and prerogatives inherent in duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, of which he gives notice to the ſeveral princes and ſtates of the empire *.

The king of Denmark writes ſtrongly to the emperor in favour of the two dukes.

A DECLARATION of this nature could not but be very alarming to all the princes of Germany; but the king of Denmark was moſt remarkably affected with it, knowing himſelf to have been the chief cauſe of reducing the two dukes, his near relations †, to this ſad and terrible dilemma. In hopes therefore of preventing their utter ruin, he wrote a letter to the emperor from Krempe, dated the 15th of September, to repreſent to that prince the true ſtate of the duke's conduct during the late commotions. As he had concluded a peace with Ferdinand, he flattered himſelf that his interceſſion upon this occaſion, would have ſome weight. He therefore declared "that the two dukes "had entered into no league with any foreign power, nor con- "cluded any treaty, but that of the union for the defence of "Lower Saxony, ſolemnly reſolved upon by the ſtates of the "circle, according to the laws and conſtitutions of the empire;

* Londorp, Khevenhuller, Beehr.

† The mother of Chriſtian IV. and the father of the dukes of Mecklenburg were firſt couſins.

" that they had even renounced their alliance with himſelf,
" after they had been forewarned and admoniſhed by his impe-
" rial majeſty; and would have given proofs of their obedience
" to his mandates, had they not been prevented by the Daniſh
" forces, which had ſeized their dominions. Hence it appeared
" beyond all doubt, that the intention of the two brothers was
" entirely innocent, ſince they had no other aim than the defence
" of the Germanic liberty, and the peace and ſecurity of the
" province: conſequently he entertained great hopes that they
" would not be declared guilty of treaſon and rebellion, but that
" his imperial majeſty would pay ſome regard to a Daniſh mo-
" narch, interceding for innocent princes, nearly related to him
" by the ties of blood; and ſo much the more as the imperial
" deputies at Lubeck had given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that
" no perſon whatever ſhould in conſequence of the late diſturb-
" ances, be oppreſſed, or ſuffer any injury in violation of juſtice
" and equity: he concluded with expreſſing his apprehenſions,
" that if his imperial majeſty ſhould, contrary to expectation,
" continue inexorable to all interceſſion, new diſturbances would
" ariſe, in which the neighbouring ſtates, and even his own do-
" minions might be unhappily involved: he therefore moſt
" earneſtly begged and prayed, that his imperial majeſty would
" moſt graciouſly forgive the two brothers, his near kinſmen,
" and by ſo magnanimous an act reſtore peace and laſting con-
" cord to Germany, which would be the means of eſtabliſhing
" his own glory and renown, and for which favour he (the
" king of Denmark) ſhould acknowledge himſelf under a per-
" petual obligation to his imperial majeſty *."

Duke Adolph Frederick and his brother remove to Lubeck.

THIS interceſſion of the Daniſh monarch was backed by the ſtrongeſt repreſentations from John George I. duke of Saxony, who wrote a very long epiſtle of the ſame tenour, to the emperor Ferdinand from Dreſden, on the 9th of October; duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, being appriſed of this powerful mediation in their favour, thought proper to quit Saxony

* Beehr, Franck.

and

and the principality of Anhalt, where they had reſided during their exile, and to remove to Lubeck, in order to be near at hand, and obſerve what was tranſacting in their own country. Walſtein hearing of this reſolution, and being falſely informed that duke John Albert in the diſguiſe of a peaſant was roaming about the country, gave orders for ſcouring the roads and taking the duke into cuſtody. But both the brothers arrived at Lubeck in perfect ſafety.

DUKE John Albert was willing to try once more what effect another ſupplicatory letter, containing an apology for his conduct, would have upon the emperor's mind, and therefore wrote to him from Lubeck, on the 20th of October, in the following terms:

Moſt auguſt emperor,

Apologetical letter from duke John Albert to the emperor Ferdinand.

YOU cannot be inſenſible of my having been baniſhed out of my own country, together with my deareſt wife and children, by means of the falſe inſinuations of my enemies, and without being heard in my own defence, contrary to the true intention and order of your imperial majeſty; a calamity which I have in ſilent patience endured, in order to teſtify my ſubmiſſion and obedience: nor did I think of flying for redreſs to any other earthly power but you, when I humbly beſought your moſt ſacred majeſty to grant me an audience, which I flattered myſelf I ſhould have obtained, as ſo many electors and princes had interceded in my behalf. I have now been a whole year a ſojourner among ſtrangers, to my very great inconvenience, being ſtript of my eſtate and revenues; during which time I have been conſtantly in expectation of an anſwer, hoping you would grant my humble petition. But ſince you have been pleaſed to keep me ſtill in ſuſpence, I muſt ſubmit to that delay, firmly confiding that your imperial majeſty will not deny me an act of juſtice, to which the meaneſt of mankind are entitled, namely, to be heard in my own defence. I am precluded all acceſs to your majeſty, and denied the permiſſion to approach your throne, where I made

made no doubt but I ſhould be able to refute thoſe charges which have been falſely and maliciouſly brought againſt me; I am baniſhed and expelled from my hereditary eſtates and ancient patrimony, and obliged to ſubmit to ſuch hardſhips and indignities, as ſcarce any other prince of the empire ever underwent; and to complete my miſeries, I ſee a ſtranger inveſted and infeoffed with my dominions, in a moſt extraordinary manner for himſelf, his heirs, and all his relations, with free power of diſpoſing of them at will. After ſo violent a proceeding, heads of the crimes with which I am charged have been printed and diſperſed throughout the empire, and at length are come to my hands. With great grief and concern, I now find that my enemies have taken the utmoſt pains to make your majeſty believe many things to my diſadvantage, which have no foundation in truth, and are foreign to my thoughts; they have given falſe gloſſes, and invidious colours to my moſt innocent actions, concealing ever circumſtance in my favour, and endeavouring by many imputations unworthy of a prince, to eſtrange your majeſty's affection from me, and to expoſe me to your reſentment; which wicked end they have at length unhappily attained. And the more eaſily to compaſs their bad deſigns, knowing that a fair enquiry into the cauſe would turn out in my favour, they repreſented to your majeſty, that the crimes which they laid to my charge, were ſo public and notorious, that it was altogether needleſs to give me a hearing: and thus alas! they effected their evil purpoſes by ſubreptitious inſinuations, an abuſe of which your imperial majeſty's anceſtors, in the enacting of many of their laws, make moſt heavy complaints. Not content with this injuſtice, they have lately ſpread a falſe report throughout the duchy of Mecklenburg, that I had diſguiſed myſelf in a peaſant's habit, and wandered about the country, uſing various artifices and contrivances, to oppoſe your majeſty's imperial decree; hence they iſſued out an order, which your majeſty and all the electors and princes of the empire muſt ſurely condemn, for making a ſtrict ſearch after me, and ſending a horſe patrole for that purpoſe to ſcour the roads, when I can call the Deity to witneſs,

witneſs, that ſince I was ſo unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of my hereditary patrimony by my enemies, I never once ſet foot in the province, nor did I even deſire to attempt it, much leſs dream of going about the country in maſquerade. For did I not pay a due regard to your imperial majeſty, I ſhould not be afraid of meeting my rival in another dreſs. All theſe things have therefore tortured and perplexed my mind; eſpecially when I conſider that without being heard in my own defence, a juſtice due to the meaneſt of mortals, I have been diſpoſſeſſed of my hereditary eſtates, tranſmitted to me by my progenitors, kings and princes, through an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of two thouſand years, and which they ſubmitted to be infeoffed to the holy Roman empire for its greater advantage and emolument; and many of whom faithfully aſſiſted your imperial majeſty's anceſtors in their military expeditions, to the hazard of their lives, and the loſs of their blood; while my ſpoils are beſtowed on an alien and his family, moſt of whom have never ſtirred a ſtep in the ſervice of your majeſty, or of the holy Roman empire, and ſome of whom have made immenſe fortunes in your imperial majeſty's armies; this indeed ſhould have glutted their avarice, and prevented them from coveting my patrimony, where they have committed ſuch havock and depredation, by felling the tall trees, and by the unneceſſary demolition of ſtrong and ſumptuous buildings, as would draw pity even from the moſt indifferent ſpectator. As they have likewiſe dared to plot againſt my liberty and life, they have thereby evidently betrayed their principles, looking upon themſelves as impowered to act in what manner they pleaſe, with regard to the property, liberty, and life of the princes of Germany. How difficult it is for me to diveſt myſelf of the affection I bear to my ancient and hereditary patrimony, I ſubmit to the judgment of your imperial majeſty, who are deſcended from the auguſt ſtem of ſo many emperors, kings, and princes. The profound reſpect I owe your majeſty as head of the Germanic body, is not at all abated, nor my affection alienated by thoſe ſevere proceedings; yet that I may diſcharge my conſcience and my duty to God, as well as to my dear off-

ſpring,

ſpring, I am reſolved to ſpare no prayers or intreaties, but to uſe all endeavours to appeaſe the wrath of your imperial majeſty, whoſe breaſt is naturally inclined to ſentiments of pity, though it has been ſteeled againſt me and my family by the malignity of my enemies. I ſhall therefore give you a true and faithful account of my hardſhips, not ſo as to tire your patience with a long and tedious detail, but to convince your imperial majeſty in the moſt conciſe manner I poſſibly can, of the great injuſtice done me by the falſe teſtimony of my adverſaries, in conſequence of which I have been deprived of my hereditary dominions: and I have a firm confidence, that when you come to be thoroughly appriſed of the real circumſtances of my caſe, you will pay ſome attention to my complaints, and ſhew ſuch compaſſion for a prince related to you by blood, as to raiſe him from the forlorn ſituation to which his hapleſs fate has reduced him.

I SHALL therefore begin with ſolemnly declaring, that when I joined in the confederacy of the circle of Lower Saxony, I was at that time actuated truly and ſincerely, by the principles of fidelity and allegiance to your moſt ſacred majeſty; for which reaſon I ſtrongly moved for the reſolution of the ſtates to expel duke Chriſtian of Brunſwick out of the circle; nor did I enter into any ſcheme or alliance with my faithful co-eſtates that had the leaſt bad tendency, or with a view of depriving any perſon of his property, or doing him the leaſt injury; but with the honeſt intention, agreeable to the laws of God, nature, and nations, to provide for the ſafety of myſelf and my territories, againſt the calamities and miſeries of war, which were then known to have ſpread wide throughout the empire, eſpecially when I beheld many princes, of unſuſpected fidelity to your majeſty, left naked and unprotected, and their lands and territories laid waſte, and ravaged, without your privity or conſent; ſo that neither your imperial majeſty's authority, nor their innocence and ſingular merits towards your auguſt houſe, could be any protection to them. Beſides, there was nothing new in that confederacy; it was only a completion of the former reſolutions of the circle, approved of by your majeſty, whereby it had been determined

not to grant admittance or acceſs to any of the belligerant parties, but to preſerve the country from hoſtile invaſion, and in due fidelity and allegiance to you its ſovereign. I therefore apprehended that no fault whatever could be found, if in compliance with the prayers and entreaties of my co-eſtates of the circle, I undertook to enforce the authority of thoſe reſolutions againſt all diſturbers of the public peace, and to ſupport the common cauſe of the circle and my own territories, againſt every unjuſt aggreſſor. My meaning and intention therefore never exceeded the bounds of ſelf-defence; hence it is, that when ſome kings and princes wanted me to go farther, I poſitively refuſed them, and that I ever expreſſed my deteſtation of Mansfeld's conduct, when I was at liberty to declare my ſentiments; my only aim was peace, for the ſake of which I even quitted the confederacy; which appears from my letters to the king of Denmark; and I patiently ſuſtained the many outrages and violences that were offered to my people on that very account. It is true I ordered my ſubjects at Boitzenburg to ſupply the Danes with timber, but it was merely to hinder them from ſetting the town on fire. The ſame motive of preventing a greater miſchief induced me to furniſh the Daniſh troops quartered in my province, with proviſions, leſt my people ſhould undergo greater hardſhips and oppreſſion, as the king of Denmark himſelf hath teſtified in his letter to your imperial majeſty, interceding in my behalf: all which particulars, were I allowed ſufficient time to prove my innocence, I could plainly demonſtrate, and convince my adverſaries, that it is much eaſier to frame atrocious and heinous crimes, which cannot be perpetrated without an evil intention, and a ſettled deſign of injuring another perſon, than to bring a juridical proof againſt the accuſed, and clearly to ſhow that he has been guilty of the charge. And what they call notorious, I could eaſily evince to be dubious and uncertain, by a very clear manner of reaſoning, viz. "that it is not ſufficient to declare "a fact to be notorious, and of ſuch a nature as muſt evidently "imply guilt, ſo long as the notoriety of the fact is in diſpute;" for in that caſe the perſon accuſed is to be heard in his own

defence, as miſtakes may be eaſily committed. For to make uſe of an example in private life; ſuppoſe a man to have killed another in his own defence, were he condemned to a capital puniſhment without being heard, and without enquiring whether it was with malice prepenſe, or ſe defendendo, or by ſtretching the right of ſelf-defence beyond due bounds, merely becauſe the fact is notorious to all the world; that man ſo condemned would ſuffer very unjuſtly: therefore I think my treatment very ſevere, when without being convicted, or even heard, I am declared guilty of having extended the right of ſelf-defence, with regard to the circle of Lower Saxony, beyond the limits of moderation, and of having entered into the confederacy of the circle with an evil intention, and with malice prepenſe againſt your moſt ſacred majeſty: and now that I have undergone the ſentence, and ſee myſelf deſpoiled of my patrimony; my crime is ſo far from being notorious, that no legal witneſſes or evidence have been produced to prove me guilty. Though I might eaſily enlarge upon this article, I ſhall be content with ſubmitting what has been here ſaid, to your imperial majeſty's conſideration. But even if all that has been advanced to my prejudice by my adverſaries, were true, and I had really tranſgreſſed my duty to your imperial majeſty, yet in your mandate of the 3d of July 1627, prompted by your innate clemency, you were pleaſed to declare that if I obeyed the ſaid mandate, and gave proof of my ſubmiſſion to your orders, teſtified by your generals, I ſhould be reſtored to your moſt gracious favour, and ſuffer no loſs of my patrimony or eſtate. Now that very ſame day, viz. on the firſt of Auguſt, when your imperial mandate was delivered into my hands, I ſent proper deputies to the commanders of your forces, with directions to expreſs and declare my ſincere and unfeigned obedience; and thoſe deputies, having obtained letters of ſafe-conduct from the generals, offered them in my name every aid and aſſiſtance I could poſſibly give to your arms, in proportion to the weak and exhauſted ſituation of my country: when the duke of Friedland, with the army under

his command, reached the frontiers of the province, all the paſſes, forts, towns, and caſtles were opened to them: when colonel Arnheim laid ſiege to Butzow, the capital of the biſhopric of Schwerin, and applied to me for proviſions, ammunition, and all ſorts of military ſtores, I ſupplied him with every thing, according to his deſire, from the town of Roſtock, where I then reſided, obeying your imperial majeſty's commands in every point, and behaving myſelf in ſuch a manner, as truly and ſincerely to believe, that no man whatſoever, who is poſſeſſed of the leaſt grain of honeſty, will dare to aſſert the contrary of what I have here advanced, or to queſtion my obedience and fidelity on the occaſion. And for that very reaſon, the Daniſh forces, which were then quartered in the little iſland of Poel, belonging to my brother Adolph Frederick, not only expreſſed an hoſtile reſentment againſt me, but even attempted to intercept my deputies at Wiſmar, who were on their return from count Tilly's camp; and ſo ſtrictly were they watched night and day, as to be detained full ſix weeks in that town, and with great difficulty at laſt they eſcaped. This is a fact, well known to all the world, and farther corroborated by the teſtimony of colonel Arnheim, and general count Tilly. The former in his letter to me, dated Auguſt the 8th, 1627, ſays thus: "With great pleaſure I have been informed "that your highneſs has quitted the Daniſh alliance, and of- "fered of your own accord, as a proof of your fidelity and ſub- "miſſion, to ſurrender all your forts and territories to his im- "perial majeſty; and I make no doubt but ſuch a ſtep will be "very acceptable to him, and he will be graciouſly pleaſed to "take you again into his favour, ſo as to anſwer all your expec- "tations." The latter, in his anſwer to my deputies, on the 20th of Auguſt, in the ſame year, delivered himſelf in the following terms: "I certainly conſidered the duke your maſter in "the light of an enemy, and expected to meet with an hoſtile "reception from him and his ſubjects: but ſince he hath "thought proper to pay a due regard to his imperial majeſty's "laſt reſcript, and to give every mark of obedience and ſubmiſ-

"ſion, it behoves me to lay aſide all doubt and ſuſpicion, and "to reckon him among thoſe princes who have continued faith-"ful to their ſovereign; nor ſhall I look upon him henceforward as a foe, but take him and his territories under the protection of the army committed to my care. Therefore let him not be apprehenſive of any hoſtile proceedings, but rather expect every friendly office from me, and deſire him to make himſelf eaſy, for I ſhall ſpare his territories and his people, to the utmoſt extent of my power." And hence it was that he granted letters of ſafe-conduct or protection to ſome of my diſtricts, when he could not conveniently exempt my territories from quartering his army. All theſe facts, moſt clement emperor and lord, are public and notorious, ſo that I inſiſt upon the truth of them: I now leave it to your own judgment, as well as to that of the whole world, whether I have not fully complied with your imperial majeſty's mandates. I am firmly perſuaded that had you then been properly acquainted with all thoſe particulars, the goodneſs of your heart, as well as your regard to juſtice, would never have permitted me to undergo ſuch ſevere hardſhips as I have experienced theſe two years, in a ſtate of exile, together with my wife and children. I have therefore drawn up this humble petition, to be delivered into your own hands, in hopes of receiving an indulgent anſwer; begging, as a ſingular favour, that your majeſty will vouchſafe to peruſe it, and to conſider the nature and grounds of my humble requeſt. Let your known regard to juſtice, and your natural goodneſs of heart induce you to have ſome regard to my ſubmiſſion and obedience, which have been confirmed even by the teſtimony of my enemies; and let that indulgent protection, which you were pleaſed to promiſe in your decree to myſelf and my ſubjects, take place at preſent, and vouchſafe to reſtore me and my brother Adolph Frederick (who being upon a viſit to our aunt, the queen dowager of Denmark, could not ſign theſe preſents) after ſo many toils and perſecutions, to our ancient patrimony. Vouchſafe alſo to forgive us with regard to any part of our conduct, which may have been diſpleaſing to

your

your imperial majeſty in our late aſſociation with the circle, ſince we have done nothing with an evil intent to injure you in the leaſt, but merely with a view of providing for our own lawful defence. And as we have ſuffered moſt ſeverely for any error in our paſt behaviour, by living theſe two years in exile, let this be ſuch an alleviation of our faults, as may aſſwage your indignation, and move your imperial majeſty at length to take us once more into favour *.

The duchy of Mecklenburg transferred in full property to Walſtein.

We have given this piece at full length, as it contains the ſubſtance of the famous apology, publiſhed by the dukes of Mecklenburg, the year following, when all hopes of reconciliation were vaniſhed. The duke's arguments and entreaties had no manner of effect; for on the 20th of December 1629, the imperial commiſſaries ſummoned the ſtates of Mecklenburg, in order to acquaint them with a new decree of Ferdinand II. whereby his imperial majeſty transferred to Walſtein and his heirs for ever, the abſolute and full property of the duchy of Mecklenburg, which he had hitherto held only as a mortgage. In conſequence of which Walſtein iſſued an order for the ſtates to take a ſecond oath of fidelity and allegiance, ſuitable to the new inveſtiture.

1630. The ſtates of Mecklenburg obliged to take the oaths of hereditary homage to Walſtein.

The ſtates accordingly met at Guſtrow on the 9th of January, when they were apprized of the emperor's intentions, and called upon to ſhow their obedience by accepting Walſtein for their legitimate ſovereign, and yielding the ſame homage to him as they had always done to the dukes of Mecklenburg. Walſtein was not preſent, being then employed in the emperor's affairs, but he was repreſented by Wingierſky, his deputy. The ſtates had been always in hopes, that their lawful ſovereigns, duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, would, by the mediation of ſo many powerful princes be reinſtated in their dominions; but now finding themſelves diſappointed, they were greatly puzzled how to act, and deſired ſome time to conſider of ſo important an

* Beehr, Khevenhuller, Kluver.

affair

affair. Wingierſky was extremely incenſed at this delay, however he indulged them till the 21ſt in the afternoon, when it was expected they muſt comply with the emperor's order, or be declared guilty of rebellion. The town was full of troops, and the gates were guarded to prevent any perſon from quitting the place, till the ſtates had yielded this ſecond homage. All reſiſtance being then in vain, they were obliged to yield to force, and took the oaths of hereditary homage on the 21ſt of January in the afternoon. Duke Adolph Frederick and his brother ſent a meſſenger to proteſt in their name againſt theſe proceedings, as contrary both to divine and human law; but the imperial commiſſaries would not permit the meſſenger to appear before the aſſembly. Walſtein now entered upon the government as hereditary duke of Mecklenburg; he bore the title and arms, publiſhed edicts, coined money *, inflicted puniſhments, conferred rewards, and exerciſed in a word every act of ſovereignty. He confirmed however the conſtitution and liberties of the country, religion only excepted, concerning which he would give no poſitive aſſurance, that being a point, as he pretended, which belonged to the emperor alone to determine †.

Edict of reſtitution.

The deſpotiſm of Ferdinand II. who of his own authority had proſcribed the elector Palatine, and the dukes of Mecklenburg, began to alarm all the princes of the empire. After ſubduing every oppoſition to his will, he ſeemed to conſider Germany as a conquered province. In order to eſtabliſh his abſolute ſway, he thought he could adopt no better meaſure than to weaken the proteſtant princes; and after he had ſtripped ſome of them of their dominions, his policy prompted him to wreſt from others, what he pretended they had uſurped from the catholics in the courſe of fourſcore years. This induced him, the preceding year (March 6, 1629), to publiſh the famous edict of reſtitution, whereby the proteſtant princes were ordered to reſtore all the church livings which they had appropriated to themſelves ſince

* The author ſaw ſeveral of Walſtein's ducats in his tour through Mecklenburg, in 1766, particularly at Roſtock.

† Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz.

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the treaty of Paſſau in 1555. The edict was founded on an article of the treaty of Paſſau, by which it had been regulated, that if a perſon ſeized of a benefice quitted the old religion to become a proteſtant, he ſhould be obliged at the ſame time to relinquiſh his church livings. Ferdinand ordered this reſtitution purely and ſimply without making any difference between the benefices, mediately or immediately ſubjects to the empire; at the ſame time he granted leave for the catholic princes to expel ſuch proteſtants as were ſettled in their dominions. This ſevere edict likewiſe pronounced the ſentence of an imperial ban againſt thoſe who ſhould dare to oppoſe its execution; and for that purpoſe Ferdinand had ſent commiſſaries into all the circles, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the proteſtant ſtates.

The proteſtant ſtates alarmed at the edict of Reſtitution.

It is eaſy to imagine what uneaſineſs this edict muſt have given to the princes of the confeſſion of Augſburg. The electors of Saxony and Brandenburg openly oppoſed the edict; but the reſt of the empire was obliged to comply. The city of Augſburg, where the confeſſion of the proteſtant faith had been originally framed, was the leaſt ſpared. The reſt of the imperial cities ſubmitted: the duke of Wirtemberg and other princes reſtored livings claimed by the catholics. In the duchy of Mecklenburg all convents had been ſequeſtrated, moſt of them indeed ſince the convention at Paſſau; four convents only remained, and theſe were of the proteſtant religion; namely, Rhunen, belonging to the cathedral of Schwerin; Dobbertin, Malchow, and Ribbenitz, which had been applied to the ſupport of ladies of noble birth. The ſee of Schwerin ſtill ſubſiſted, but had embraced the reformation and had been hitherto held by the princes of the houſe of Mecklenburg and prince Ulric of Denmark; but now Walſtein diſpoſed of it at pleaſure for the ſubſiſtence of the imperial army, or rather for his own private advantage. He executed at the head of his army the deciſions of the imperial commiſſaries. The rigour with which he proceeded againſt the proteſtants provoked them as much as the edict itſelf. For this haughty and boiſterous general, while he had the ſword in hand, had no regard

gard to the laws, ſo that he began now to be almoſt formidable to his own ſovereign as well as to the enemy: and the unbounded licentiouſneſs with which he indulged his troops, was increaſed to ſuch a pitch as to alarm even the princes of the catholic league. In conſequence hereof they aſſembled at Heidelberg, from whence they ſent deputies to the emperor, begging he would reſtore peace to Germany, by remedying the grievances of the ſtates, and diſbanding part of his army, which amounted to upwards of 160,000 men. This formidable army was quartered all over the empire, and exhauſted the ſeveral ſtates by numberleſs impoſitions, without reckoning the immenſe taxes which the emperor laid on at pleaſure. The marquiſate of Brandenburg alone had paid him in leſs than four years above twenty millions of crowns. The imperial general, who was well acquainted with his maſter's intentions, often uſed to ſay, that it would be requiſite to put the electors on the ſame footing as the grandees of Spain, and to reduce the biſhops to the ſimple quality of chaplains to the imperial court.

Walſtein's behaviour gives great offence to the German princes.

WALSTEIN was commonly ſtyled the German Dictator. He was inſolent and imperious to the higheſt degree, treating every body with contempt, except the ſoldiery, whom he indulged in all manner of licentiouſneſs. Moſt of the electors and princes hated him as an upſtart, who, by the emperor's extraordinary favour, had raiſed himſelf to ſuch a pitch of grandeur. His ſumptuous manner of living excited their envy, for he kept a more ſplendid retinue, and maintained a more magnificent table, than moſt of them could afford to imitate. His houſhold indeed reſembled that of a great king; he had no leſs than ſixty noblemen in his family; and on account of the large ſalaries he gave them, many perſons of noble birth were known to quit the imperial court, with a view of being admitted as gentlemen of his bed-chamber. At the diet of Ratiſbon, he eclipſed all the electors, in the pomp and ſplendour of his equipage, and was ſcarce equalled by the emperor himſelf. At Prague he purchaſed the houſes of a whole ſtreet, to build him a moſt ſumptuous palace. He was particularly reſerved and uncommunicative, neither im-

parting his own deſigns, nor collecting the ſentiments of others; and hence it was that he acted in ſo arbitrary a manner, as to levy contributions, grant protections, and diſtribute troops into garriſons, without ever conſulting thoſe princes, in whoſe territories his army was quartered. Hence all parties were exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that both catholics and proteſtants joined in demanding juſtice of the emperor.

1630. Diet of Ratiſbon.

In this general agitation of the German ſtates, Ferdinand convened a diet at Ratiſbon, to conſult about meaſures for pacifying the troubles of the empire. The ſtates accordingly met; and, notwithſtanding the diſtreſſes of the times, this aſſembly was the moſt pompous and magnificent that had ever been known in Germany. Sir Robert Anſtruther, ambaſſador from England, and M. Brulart, on the part of France, aſſiſted at this aſſembly. The ſtates ſhewed but very little harmony in their debates: the proteſtants complained loudly of the edict of reſtitution, and inſiſted on the reſtoration of the elector Palatine: in this they were backed by the Engliſh ambaſſador. They all ſpoke agreeably to their reſpective intereſts and reſentments. The deputies of the electors of Saxony aud Brandenburg exclaimed againſt the ravages and exceſſes committed by Walſtein and his officers; declaring that the territories of their maſters had been ſo impoveriſhed and exhauſted, as to diſable them from appearing at Ratiſbon in a manner ſuitable to their dignity. In fine, they unanimouſly inſiſted on a reduction of the imperial forces, and eſpecially on Walſtein's diſmiſſion. Theſe conditions were ſevere and diſguſting to the emperor, yet he * thought proper to

* After all, Walſtein's diſmiſſion might not have been brought about, had not Maximilian, the elector of Bavaria, chief of the catholic league, perempto ily urged it. Walſtein had beſides many enemies at the court of Vienna, among whom the moſt ſtrenuous were the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and baron Strahlendorf. The latter was of a noble family in Mecklenburg, and had been raiſed to the dignity of vice-preſident of the imperial council, and deputy vice-chancellor of the empire. His father Leopold Strahlendorf had been vice-chancellor of the empire: his grandfather Ulric, was a Mecklenburg gentleman, who, on account of ſome proceſs at law, was obliged to quit his country, yet afterwards became member of the privy-council to the

to comply, from an apprehenſion of ſetting the whole German empire againſt him. Great part of his numerous forces, but particularly a fine corps of 15,000 cuiraſſiers were diſbanded. In conſequence of this ſtep, as a modern hiſtorian * very juſtly obſerves, the houſe of Auſtria was very near being ruined, not only by the diſbanding of ſo great a number of troops at ſuch a critical juncture, but by the manner of carrying it into execution; the young and vigorous were retained, and the weather-beaten were diſmiſſed, as unfit for ſervice, though perhaps one fourth of them qualified to be officers. Theſe men, unacquainted with manufactures and agriculture, and unwilling to quit a profeſſion to which they had been trained, gradually entered into the ſervice of the king of Sweden and his allies.

AT the ſame time commiſſioners were ſent to Walſtein, who was then at Memmingen, with orders for that general to reſign his command of the army, together with the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mecklenburg, under pretence of the neceſſity of not continuing to give umbrage to the electoral college. Walſtein to appearance ſubmitted with a good grace; but ever after harboured the keeneſt reſentment againſt the emperor.

Walſtein is deprived of the command of the army.

WALSTEIN, after his diſmiſſion, wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to Ferdinand, begging that his imperial majeſty would maintain him in the poſſeſſions which he had ſo liberally granted him; eſpecially in the inveſtiture of the duchy of Mecklenburg; and allow him a ſufficient force to defend that province againſt any foreign invaſion; he concluded with hoping that as his fidelity had been ſo often tried, and his ſervices approved of, his moſt

emperor Charles V. The preſent Strahlendorf, being ſtrongly attached to the emperor, and hating the dukes of Mecklenburg on his grandfather's account, not only procured a ratification of the Reverſales in 1626, for the ſtates of Mecklenburg, but not a little contributed to the misfortunes of duke Adolph Frederick and his brobrother, though at the ſame time he was their ſubject and vaſſal. He was however a man of too much diſcernment not to foreſee on what a bad footing the liberties of his country would be, under the government of Walſtein; this induced him privately to leave no ſtone unturned for facilitating a reconciliation between the emperor and the dukes of Mecklenburg, and for haſtening Walſtein's diſmiſſion.

† The learned and ingenious Mr. Harte.

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ſacred majeſty would not liſten to the inſinuations of his enemies. The electors prevailed on the emperor to anſwer Walſtein, that he had reſigned the affair of the exiled dukes of Mecklenburg to the examination of the electoral college, and therefore could determine nothing at preſent, with regard to the poſſeſſion of that duchy; ſome equivalent however ſhould be found to indemnify him in caſe of an unfavourable deciſion of the electors. Walſtein, though bent on revenge, ſeemed to be ſatisfied with this anſwer, and after making moſt generous preſents to count Wartenberg, and to Queſtenberg ſecretary at war, the commiſſaries who had waited upon him with the emperor's orders, he reſigned his commiſſion, and filled with reſentment retired to Bohemia. There he lived for ſome time on his eſtate, which brought him in 500,000 dollars per annum, beſides the intereſt of ſeveral millions, which he had iniquitouſly amaſſed in the wars, and lodged in the bank of Venice. The public on this occaſion knew not which moſt to admire, Ferdinand's complaiſance to the diet, or Walſtein's ready ſubmiſſion to the emperor. The command of the imperial army, was then given to count Tilly, at the particular recommendation of the elector of Bavaria. The emperor had ſoon reaſon to repent his great complaiſance to the diet: that aſſembly made no return for his favours; the electors refuſed to elect his ſon Ferdinand king of the Romans; and the edict of reſtitution continuing unrepealed, the proteſtant princes were animated with as much jealouſy and reſentment as ever *.

The dukes of Mecklenburg publiſh their apology.

WHILST the diet of Ratiſbon was ſitting, the dukes of Mecklenburg thought proper to ſend Erneſt of Elvern their deputy to the electors and princes, recommending their cauſe in the ſtrongeſt terms to the ſeveral members of that aſſembly. For this purpoſe alſo, they had printed their famous Apology, which was addreſſed to the emperor on the 19th of May, and to the whole Germanic body. It is a performance of ſome length, penned with great ſpirit, perſpicuity, and judgment, containing 259 do-

* Barre, Pfeffel, Heiſſe, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck, Kluver.

cuments, by which they endeavour to demonſtrate their innocence. It is divided into four parts: in the firſt, the dukes aſſert, "that they were obliged by juſt motives, agreeably to "both divine and human law, to join with their co-eſtates, the "princes of Lower Saxony, in providing for the defence of the "province; that ſuch a ſtep was lawful and juſtified by the ex-"ample of other electors and princes of the empire, and there-"fore they could not on that account incur the horrid guilt "of treaſon and rebellion." In the ſecond part they endeavour to ſhew, "that ſo innocent an action was miſrepreſented by "their enemies and informers, and ſuch a conſtruction given to "it, as they never once dreamt of; thence they had had the "misfortune of incurring his imperial majeſty's diſpleaſure; "thence the ſeveral mandates ſurreptitiouſly obtained againſt "them, and thence their expulſion and exile from their territo-"ries, notwithſtanding their compliance with thoſe mandates, "and though they had not been heard in their own defence." In the third part they ſhew, "that no form of trial or juridical "proceſs had been obſerved in their caſe, but they had been "immediately proceeded againſt by an imperial execution, con-"trary to all the pragmatic ſanctions of the holy Roman em-"pire, without paying the leaſt regard to their humble com-"plaints or petitions, or to the interceſſion of the electoral col-"lege; they had likewiſe been debarred of all acceſs to the head "of the Germanic body; and all this had been done without "acquainting his imperial majeſty with the nature of their juſt "defence, ſo as to perſuade him to deprive them of their pa-"ternal inheritance in a prepoſterous manner." In the fourth and laſt part, they undertake to refute by various arguments the imperial manifeſto, publiſhed againſt them the preceding year.

THE Apology of the dukes of Mecklenburg was circulated throughout Germany, and ſeems to have made ſome impreſſion at this time upon the imperial miniſters. For, upon a new appli-

* Beehr, Franck, Kluver.

cation

cation from the elector of Saxony, in favour of the exiled dukes, Walſtein's entreaties with regard to the duchy of Mecklenburg were ſlighted, and notice was given to thoſe princes that they might defend their cauſe by a proceſs at law before the aulic council. But this change of ſtyle was more owing perhaps to the intelligence juſt received, that the king of Sweden had landed an army in Pomerania *, in order to protect the proteſtant princes of Germany. This was the celebrated Guſtavus Adolphus, the glorious and immortal deliverer of Mecklenburg, and the great reſtorer of the civil and religious liberty of the empire. No ſooner did this hero make his appearance on this new ſtage, than the face of things was immediately changed. The haughty, the implacable Ferdinand, after a ſeries of twelve years triumphs, during which he had inſolently trampled upon the necks of ſo many reſpectable princes, ſaw all his laurels blaſted, his ſurpriſing elevation ſucceeded by the moſt mortifying diſgraces, his veteran legions routed by an enemy whom he had deſpiſed, himſelf diſpoſſeſſed of the territories which he had uſurped, attacked even in his hereditary dominions, and, to complete his diſgrace, trembling for his very capital. From what ſprings this glorious revolution took its riſe, and in what manner it was atchieved, ſhall be fully explained in the following pages †.

* June 24, 1630.

† Barre, Pfeffel, Puffendorff, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck, Kluver.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The SWEDISH WAR, from the DESCENT of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, in 1630, to the RESTORATION of the DUKES of MECKLENBURG, in 1631.

Affairs of Sweden from the reign of Guſtavus Vaſa. Guſtavus reſolves to ſupport the proteſtant princes of Germany. Character of Guſtavus. He lands his army in Pomerania. Guſtavus's deſcent raiſes the ſpirits of the proteſtant princes. Character of count Pappenheim. Guſtavus's firſt attempt to reſtore the dukes of Mecklenburg. He returns to Pomerania, and diſlodges the imperialiſts from ſeveral poſts. Treaty of Berenwald, between Guſtavus and the king of France. Farther progreſs of the Swediſh arms. The marquis of Hamilton carries over 6000 men to Guſtavus. Tilly marches againſt Guſtavus. The union of Leipſick. Guſtavus treats with the elector of Brandenburg. The ſiege of Magdeburg. Guſtavus forces the elector of Brandenburg to come into his meaſures. Reſtoration of the dukes of Mecklenburg.

Affairs of Sweden from the reign of Guſtavus Vaſa.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was grandſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, the glorious deliverer of Sweden. Upon the death of that great prince, in 1560, his eldeſt ſon Eric ſucceeded to the throne; but was very unfortunate in his conteſts with his brother John, by whom he was dethroned and impriſoned, and at length put to death in his confinement in 1575. John, who had been acknowledged king by the ſtates, made the reſtoration of popery his principal object in Sweden; and, in order to pave his way to the crown of Poland, had his eldeſt ſon Sigiſmund educated in the catholic religion: this ſo far ſucceeded, that upon the deceaſe

GUSTAVUS ADELPHUS KING OF SWEDEN.

This Plate, as a Monument of sincere Friendship and Esteem, is Inscribed by his most Humble & Obedient Servant,

To Ralph Schomberg M.D. F.S.A.

Thomas Nugent.

deceaſe of king Stephen Battori, in 1587, Sigiſmund was choſen ſovereign of that kingdom. Upon John's demiſe, Sigiſmund ſaw himſelf king of Poland and Sweden, in 1592; but being bent upon introducing both popery and arbitrary power among the Swedes, they threw off their allegiance, and declaring him and his iſſue to have forfeited the crown, elected his father's brother, Charles, duke of Sudermanland, in 1604. This election was productive of a long war between Sweden and Poland, Sigiſmund refuſing to renounce the crown of Sweden. Charles not only maintained himſelf on the throne againſt Sigiſmund, but likewiſe taking advantage of the troubles which then prevailed in Ruſſia, took poſſeſſion of Ingermannia and Carelia. He died in 1611, and, like another Philip, left a new Alexander to ſucceed him; this was the renowned Guſtavus Adolphus.

Early exploits of Guſtavus.

THIS prince was then very young, his throne tottering, and ſurrounded by powerful enemies. In the commencement of his reign, he diſplayed his valour againſt the Danes, who had been at war with the king his father. Having, for reaſons of prudence, thought proper to conclude a peace with that nation, he turned his arms againſt the Ruſſians, who, after electing his brother for their ſovereign, repented their choice, and gave the crown to a native of their own country. So ſucceſsful was he in this war, as to oblige the new Czar in 1617, to yield him the province of Ingermannia and the town of Kexholm.

War between Guſtavus and Sigiſmund king of Poland.

BUT his longeſt ſtruggle was with his couſin Sigiſmund, king of Poland, who obſtinately refuſed to relinquiſh his claim to the crown of Sweden. The Poles had taken up arms in behalf of their ſovereign, and threatened the Swedes with an invaſion; but Guſtavus determined to prevent them, and, with a choſen body of troops, fell upon Livonia, then ſubject to the crown of Poland. He ſoon made himſelf maſter of Riga, the capital of that province, when the Poles demanded a truce, which he granted for two years. At the expiration of that term, Sigiſmund being determined to continue the war, Guſtavus marched his army a ſecond time into Livonia, where he gained a complete victory.

victory over the Poliſh troops. As Sigiſmund ſtill remained deaf to all overtures of peace, the king of Sweden made a ſudden attack upon Pruſſia, where he laid ſiege to Elbing, which ſoon ſurrendered; and Marienburg, Mewe, Stum, &c. underwent the ſame fate. This victorious prince was afterwards wounded in two different actions, which ſomewhat retarded the progreſs of his arms; but his wounds being healed, he ſoon recovered his uſual ſuperiority. Sigiſmund was now ready to liſten to terms of accommodation, when his ſpirits were revived by the promiſes which the emperor Ferdinand I. made him, of ſending a body of twelve thouſand men to his aſſiſtance. Ferdinand ſeemed in ſome meaſure to found the grandeur of his family on the diſturbances and broils of the neighbouring princes; but he was particularly deſirous of fomenting the war between the Swedes and Poles, in order to prevent Guſtavus, who had been applied to for his aſſiſtance by ſeveral of the German princes, from intermeddling in the affairs of the empire. Guſtavus, finding all hopes of accommodation vaniſhed, after ſeveral ſieges, ſurprizes, and aſſaults, in which he was generally ſucceſsful, came up with the combined army of Poles and imperialiſts, on the banks of the Nogat, in the neighbourhood of Stum. There a battle enſued, in which Guſtavus acted the part of ſoldier and general. Hurried by the impetuoſity of his courage, he penetrated into the midſt of the enemy's ranks, and was twice very near being taken; but victory at length ranged herſelf under his banners. Sigiſmund, diſheartened with ſo many unproſperous events, liſtened at length to propoſals for a ſuſpenſion of arms, and, by the mediation of France, England, Holland, and Brandenburg, a truce was concluded between Sweden and Poland, in 1629, for the ſpace of ſix years. Guſtavus retained, as the fruit of this war, all his conqueſts in Livonia.

Truce of ſix years between Sweden and Poland.

Guſtavus reſolves to ſupport the proteſtant princes of the empire.

THE king of Sweden, having thus got rid of the Danes, checked the Ruſſians, humbled the Poles, and overcome the inflexibility of Sigiſmund, thought it high time to be revenged of the emperor Ferdinand, for ſending ſuch powerful ſuccours to his

his enemies, during the late war with Poland. Jealous of the progreſs which the emperor's arms had made as far as the ſhores of the Baltic, the ſovereignty of which that ambitious prince ſeemed deſirous to uſurp, and provoked at the treatment of his ambaſſadors, who had been refuſed admittance to the conferences of peace at Lubeck; he undertook to indulge his private reſentment by avenging the proteſtant cauſe, which was likely to open an ample field to his thirſt of military glory. His zeal for the proteſtant religion was alſo a ſtrong inducement to embark in a war in ſupport of the princes of that perſuaſion in Germany, who had for ſome time conſidered him as their only reſource; and as the elector Palatine and the king of Denmark had been foiled in their noble attempt to ſupport that party, Guſtavus fancied that heaven had reſerved for him the glory of preſerving Germany from ſlavery and oppreſſion *.

The proteſtant princes of the empire, groaning under the arbitrary tyranny of the imperial officers, had applied to the Swediſh monarch under-hand for his aſſiſtance, when he was engaged in the war with Poland, which prevented him at that time from complying with their requeſt. He took them however under his protection, and ſent an envoy to the conferences of Lubeck, to interpoſe in their favour, and particularly to inſiſt on the reſtoration of the dukes of Mecklenburg, who were nearly related to him by blood†. The ſame miniſter was alſo commiſſioned to interpoſe in favour of William, marquis of Brandenburg, adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, who, for adhering to the king of Denmark, had been put under the ban of the empire. But the envoy, as we have already obſerved, was not admitted to the conferences, ſo that Guſtavus's friendly endeavours to relieve the oppreſſed princes proved for that time abortive.

The imperial arms continuing to make the moſt rapid progreſs, Guſtavus convened the ſtates of his kingdom in 1628, The ſtates of Sweden convened. 1628.

* Puffendorff, Loccenius, Beehr, Bougeant.

† Duke John Albert married the princeſs Margaret Elizabeth of Mecklenburg, firſt couſin to Guſtavus Adolphus, her mother being the princeſs Elizabeth of Sweden, daughter of Guſtavus Vaſa, conſequently aunt to Guſtavus Adolphus.

and expatiated on the imminent danger with which they were menaced by the encroachments of the imperialiſts, who had made themſelves maſters of the Baltic coaſt, and of part of Denmark. The ſtates adviſed him not to wait till the enemy ſhould ſet foot in Sweden, but to prevent any ſuch ſtep, by advancing againſt him ſword in hand. The king ſoon met with an opportunity favourable to his deſigns. Walſtein, as we have already related, having laid ſiege to Stralſund, Guſtavus, who was then in Pruſſia, ſupplied the inhabitants of that ſea-port, of his own accord, with ammunition and powder. The Stralſunders, being thus enabled to make a brave defence, entered into a treaty of alliance with his majeſty, on condition he would take their city under his protection, and grant them a free trade throughout the Baltic. In virtue of this agreement, the king ſent ſome troops to their aſſiſtance, by means of which they made a moſt gallant ſtand, and obliged Walſtein to raiſe the ſiege. Guſtavus did not think proper to proceed any farther at that time, but waited for a more favourable opportunity of executing his deſigns, when he had got rid of the Poliſh war.

1629. Guſtavus prepares for a German war.

No ſooner had the Swediſh monarch concluded a truce with king Sigiſmund, than he ſummoned the ſtates once more, and acquainted them with his intention of landing an army in Germany, in order to reſcue the proteſtant princes from the ſlavery and oppreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria. The whole aſſembly applauded his intention, proteſting that they were thoroughly diſpoſed to contribute every thing in their power towards the execution of ſo magnanimous a deſign. As he had before his eyes the examples of the elector Palatine, and the king of Denmark, who had both miſcarried in the like enterprize, he conſulted with his ſtates concerning the means of acting his part with the princes, who had courted him to grant them his aſſiſtance, that inſtead of running any riſk of meeting with the ſame fate as Frederick and Chriſtian, he might make this expedition redound to the benefit and advantage of his crown. In conſequence of theſe deliberations, the firſt thing he did was to put his troops into good order, to grant commiſſions for making new levies, and

to make every neceſſary preparation for croſſing the ſea. His next ſtep was to make ſure of his new friends, and of thoſe who had the ſame intereſt as himſelf, in oppoſing the farther aggrandiſement of the houſe of Auſtria. He had moreover reaſon to believe, that all the proteſtant princes would be the more ready to join him, as they had no other means but open force to preſerve their civil and religious liberties.

He publiſhes a manifeſto. 1630.

MATTERS being now advanced to a criſis, Guſtavus, hearing that the diet was ſitting at Ratiſbon, thought proper, before he made a deſcent upon Germany, to publiſh a manifeſto, wherein he ſet forth all the ſubjects of complaint, which he had to alledge againſt the emperor. This he ſent to the electors, deſiring they would interpoſe their good offices at the ſame time with his imperial majeſty, to obtain ſuitable ſatisfaction for the injuries done him; otherwiſe he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to his ſword in order to do himſelf juſtice, and the emperor would be anſwerable to God and man for all the miſeries in which Germany would be conſequently involved. The heads of his complaints were, "that Ferdinand had ſollicited the king of Poland, "and even aſſiſted that prince, to continue the war againſt Swe- "den; that he had ſtripped the dukes of Mecklenburg of their "dominions, by his own authority, without the conſent of the "diet, and even without hearing what they had to alledge in "their defence; that he had refuſed paſſports to the Swediſh "miniſters, to aſſiſt at the conferences of the peace, which had "been ſigned at Lubeck with the king of Denmark; that gene- "ral Walſtein had, contrary to the law of nations, intercepted "his courier going to Tranſylvania, and given a wrong inter- "pretation to his letters, out of deriſion to his perſon; that he "had confiſcated ſhips loaden with Swediſh merchandiſe; and, "moreover, prohibited Swediſh merchants from trading in the "empire; finally that he had attacked the town of Stralſund, "merely for putting herſelf under the protection of the crown "of Sweden."

He writes at the ſame time to the Proteſtant princes of Germany.

THE king at the ſame time wrote to the proteſtant princes of Germany, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that he would never

never lay down his arms, till affairs were reinſtated on the ſame footing as they had been in the year 1617. But whether it was that the greateſt part of thoſe princes were over-awed by the terror of the imperial arms, or it proceeded from policy and fineſſe, they did not give his majeſty any great room to be ſatisfied with their anſwers; eſpecially as they did not ſo much as ſtyle him king of Sweden. This was probably owing to their too great circumſpection, leſt they ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of the king of Poland, who ſtill conteſted the Swediſh diadem with Guſtavus. The king was not however diſcouraged at this behaviour, and having finiſhed his preparations, he reſolved to embark his troops with all expedition for Germany. The opportunity was favourable in one reſpect, as the emperor had lately diſbanded great part of his army, and detached a conſiderable body of troops into Italy, where they were employed againſt the French, in the diſpute about the Mantuan ſucceſſion*.

Character of Guſtavus Adolphus.

GUSTAVUS at his entering upon this memorable expedition, was in his ſix-and-thirtieth year: he poſſeſſed all thoſe qualifications of body and mind by which heroes are diſtinguiſhed in ſtory; indefatigable in military toils, intrepid in battle, and enterpriſing almoſt to a degree of temerity for a perſon of his rank. His abilities were equal to his courage: he perfectly underſtood the art of war, was fertile in ſtratagems, a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, yet liberal to his ſoldiers, whom he ever found ready to face the greateſt dangers. In the moſt arduous enterpriſes he was undaunted, becauſe he could always depend upon himſelf and his men. Such a prince could not form a nobler deſign than that of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, at a time when all Europe was over-awed by the terror of her arms. Senſible of the arduouſneſs of his undertaking, he took every ſtep

* The deſcent of the king of Sweden into Germany, ſaved the duke of Nevers from ruin. The emperor finding himſelf then obliged to recall his troops from Italy, readily agreed to the treaty of Ratiſbon, which was ſigned the 13th of October, 1630, by which the duke of Nevers was to remain in poſſeſſion of the duchies of Mantua and Montferrat.

neceſſary

neceſſary for carrying it on with ſucceſs. He concluded treaties of alliance with all the European princes, who had any intereſt in preſerving the liberties of Germany. He ſtrengthened his army with the forces diſbanded by the Poles and Danes, and raiſed new levies in England, Holland, and the empire. The very report of his military preparations, gave freſh courage to the enemies of Ferdinand, and the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon the ſucceſs of this glorious enterprize.

Guſtavus lands his army in Pomerania. 1630.

GUSTAVUS having ſettled the regency on the queen during his abſence, embarked his forces at Stockholm, conſiſting of about 15,000 men *, and landed at Pennemund harbour in the iſle of Uſedom in the weſtern part of Pomerania, on the 24th of June. He no ſooner ſet foot on the German ſhore, than he fell upon his knees, and ſupplicated the Supreme Being to be propitious to his undertaking. Then turning to his ſoldiers, who were ſtruck with ſo edifying a ſight, he made uſe of theſe very remarkable words: *that a good chriſtian would not make a bad ſoldier: and that the man who hath finiſhed his prayers, hath completed one half of his daily work.* Here the king entrenched him-

* It has been a matter of aſtoniſhment that with ſo ſmall a force Guſtavus ſhould invade ſo mighty a ſtate as the German empire; but it muſt be obſerved, that he was upon the point of concluding an alliance with France, which was ſigned the beginning of the next year, and was morally certain of the aſſiſtance of the proteſtant princes. Beſides, though he embarked with 15,000 men only, he expected to be joined by his troops under Leſly at Stralſund, and thoſe which came from Pruſſia, commanded by Horn. He was ſenſible of the decay of diſcipline among the imperialiſts, while the Swediſh troops were kept under the ſtricteſt order; and moſt of his officers were men of great experience; he had trained up a ſet of young generals, eminent for their military genius, and he had a great number of Engliſh and Scotch ſoldiers, moſt of whom had ſerved in the German wars; ſo that in a month's time he increaſed his army to upwards of 20,000 men. Still there was no proportion in numbers between the Swediſh and imperial forces, the latter having nine ſeveral armies equal to the whole force of Guſtavus at his firſt landing. But heroes are not afraid of numbers: Guſtavus was perſuaded, that an inferior army, trained to conſtant wars, and united under a chief whom they adored, muſt triumph over a mercenary multitude. But when he had made ſome progreſs in Germany, he increaſed his forces, by means of German recruits, to ſixty or ſeventy thouſand men. He had likewiſe 10,000 Engliſh and Scotch ſoldiers, and in the grand campaign of 1632, he had ſix Britiſh generals, thirty colonels, and fifty lieutenant-colonels. See Monro's Liſt.

ſelf in his camp, and was ſoon joined by Sir Alexander Leſly commander of the Swediſh forces at Stralſund, who had driven Goetz, the imperial general, out of the iſle of Rugen. At the king's approach, the enemy abandoned the forts they occupied in the iſle of Uſedom, as well as at Wollin, upon which he reimbarked his troops and artillery, and ſet ſail for Stettin, a conſiderable ſea-port on the Oder, with the deſign of making that his place of arms, as might ſecure him a communication between Germany and Sweden, as well as a retreat in caſe of any diſaſter. Upon his appearing before the town, the duke of Pomerania, made ſome difficulty at firſt to admit the Swediſh troops, but, from the apprehenſion of ſeeing his capital ſtormed, he at length yielded to the menaces of Guſtavus, ſurrendered the town, and concluded a defenſive alliance with Sweden. This firſt ſucceſs was ſhortly followed by the taking of Stargard, Anclam, Uckermond, and Wolgaſt.

The emperor and the electors write to Guſtavus.

ABOUT this time Guſtavus received a letter from the emperor, reproaching him with the injuſtice of his arms, and repreſenting that the king of Sweden had no more concern with the differences and diſputes among the ſtates of Germany, than the emperor and the empire had with the broils or inteſtine commotions of Sweden; and therefore he exhorted the king to pacific meaſures. The electors wrote to him in the ſame ſtyle, but now gave him the regal title. Guſtavus in his anſwer to Ferdinand, expreſſed the greateſt ſurprize, that his imperial majeſty ſhould write to him as to a prince no way intereſted in the affairs of the empire. And anſwering to the electors, he declared in plain terms, that he could not but take exception at their having put their own names before his in the letters which they had wrote to him. To both one and the other he repeated the reaſons, which had obliged him to have recourſe to arms, and his ſincere intention of preferring an honourable peace to war; but in the mean time he would proceed in his enterprize, the ſooner to obtain that wiſhed for end.

Guſtavus's deſcent raiſes the ſpirits of the proteſtant princes.

THE deſcent of the king of Sweden raiſed the drooping ſpirits of all the proteſtants of the empire. They conſidered it as a good omen

omen that he ſet foot in Germany on the ſame day of the month on which, juſt a century before, the confeſſion of Augſburg had been preſented to the emperor Charles V. The firſt advice of his landing was ſent to the emperor by the elector of Saxony, whilſt the diet was ſitting at Ratiſbon; and his imperial majeſty having acquainted that aſſembly with the Swediſh invaſion, they voted Guſtavus an enemy to the empire, and promiſed to ſupport Ferdinand with their lives and fortunes. Thus war was declared in form againſt Guſtavus, and Germany, divided againſt itſelf, ſoon became a ſcene of terror, miſery, and deſolation. Scarce had the king diſembarked his troops in Pomerania, when duke Adolph Frederick and his brother ſent their deputies to him from Lubeck, congratulating him upon his arrival, and imploring his aſſiſtance to recover their hereditary dominions. His majeſty July 6.
received them in the moſt gracious manner, and promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for attaining the accompliſhment of their wiſhes. Not long after, Chriſtian William, uncle of the elector of Brandenburg, and adminiſtrator * of Magdeburg, who had been proſcribed for not ſubmitting to the edict of reſtitution, perſuaded the inhabitants of that great city, who were moſt zealous proteſtants, to declare in favour of Sweden. The ad- October,
miniſtrator having collected a body of troops in the king's 1630.
name, and his own, made ſeveral excurſions round the country, and drove the enemy out of many important poſts. But as he was a new warrior, though not a young man, his progreſs was ſoon checked by count Pappenheim, whom the elector of Bavaria, foreſeeing the effects of this inſurrection, had ſent at the head of ſix thouſand men, to oppoſe the adminiſtrator. The latter being but a novice in the art of war, Guſtavus diſpatched colonel Falkenberg, an officer of great abilities, to direct him with his counſels. Pappenheim however compelled Chriſtian William to contract his conqueſts, and at length re-

* Adminiſtrator is a title given in Germany to a proteſtant layman, poſſeſſed of a biſhopric. He has no concern in eccleſiaſtical affairs, but in the temporalities only, yet he has a ſeat in the imperial diet among the eccleſiaſtical princes.

duced

duced him to ſhelter his troops under the walls of Magdeburg, which he blockaded.

Character of count Pappenheim.

As in the courſe of this war, we ſhall often have occaſion to ſpeak of this great commander, it will not be amiſs to give ſome account of his hiſtory. Henry, count Pappenheim, was one of the ableſt and moſt active generals in his time. He was deſcended from a noble family in Suabia, which ſtill enjoys the dignity of hereditary marſhal of the empire. He gave early inſtances of his valour, ſerved his firſt campaigns in the Valteline, and ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of Chiavenna. In the twenty-fourth year of his age, he performed wonders at the battle of Prague, where he was found among the dead on the field of battle. In 1626 he was employed to quell the inſurrection of the peaſants in Auſtria, and behaved with amazing addreſs and good conduct on that occaſion. He was called *Balafré*, like the duke of Guiſe, from the ſcars of more than ninety wounds, which he bore on his face and body. He was of the ſame age as the king of Sweden, whom he affected to imitate in moſt things, even in mounting a white ſteed, but what is more uncommon for a ſoldier, in good morals and piety. Guſtavus uſed to call him the *Soldier* *, and greatly eſteemed him, not only for his perſonal bravery, but for his inventive genius in marches, attacks, and ſtratagems.

Torquato Conti commands the imperial forces in Pomerania.

THE imperial forces in Pomerania were commanded by Torquato Conti, a Roman by birth, who ſerved firſt in Lombardy in the Spaniſh army as captain of horſe, and afterwards under count Bucquoy, in the Hungarian war. He was a man of ſlender abilities, not at all beloved by the ſoldiers, and odious beyond meaſure to the common people, on account of his extorſions, by which he acquired the ſurname of the Devil. This man had orders from the emperor, who was diſſatisfied with the duke of Pomerania, to treat that prince as a declared enemy, which he accordingly did, by ravaging the country, and deſtroying all forage and proviſions; but he did very little harm to the

* The ſame prince gave to Tilly the nick-name of the *old Corporal*, and to Wallſtein that of *Mad-man*.

Swedes,

Swedes, who, being maſters of the ſea, received plentiful ſupplies from their own country; nor did he chuſe to give battle to Guſtavus, as he dreaded to loſe the vaſt treaſure, which he and his officers had amaſſed by plunder; this was the effect of that licentiouſneſs which had entirely enervated the imperial army. On the contrary, the Swedes were kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline; the meaneſt ſoldier had no notion of plundering even for ſubſiſtence; for whatever hardſhips his troops might ſuffer, Guſtavus never could be induced to diſpenſe with any violation of natural juſtice. He was alſo a prince of great oeconomy; he neither borrowed money nor diſtreſſed his ſubjects; and his troops were always regularly paid. By this conduct he procured the good will of thoſe provinces where his troops were quartered or encamped, as the imperialiſts rendered themſelves odious, even to their own party, by an oppoſite behaviour. An abler general and a more conſiderable army might perhaps have ſtopped the progreſs of Guſtavus, or prevented his landing, but the court of Vienna had held that prince in ſuch contempt *, as to leave the defence of Pomerania to an officer of no repute, and with an inconſiderable army under his command. This was a fatal miſtake, which brought the greateſt diſgrace on the imperial forces. Walſtein was then at Memmingen, expecting his diſmiſſion; and, what is very amazing at this juncture, Tilly, inſtead of being ſent to oppoſe the Swediſh monarch, was employed in reducing the landgravate of Heſſe Caſſel, and ſecuring his own grants of poſſeſſions in Weſtphalia and Lower Saxony.

Guſtavus's firſt attempt to reſtore the dukes of Mecklenburg.

About this time Guſtavus Horn arrived with ſeveral regiments from Finland and Livonia, together with ſome troops that had been raiſed in Pruſſia. The king then thought it time to turn his arms towards the duchy of Mecklenburg, in order to

* Walſtein, juſt at the time of his diſmiſſion, writing to the emperor, makes uſe of theſe terms: the faction would fain alarm your Ceſarean majeſty with the name of Guſtavus; *let him advance farther into the empire, and I will ſcourge him back with a rod.* Such was the contemptuous idea which the imperialiſts had of that great monarch.

re-inſtate the dukes his couſins, whom he had taken under his protection. He imagined, and with good reaſon, that this ſtep would gain him great renown, as it would convince the world, that he came into Germany with no other deſign than to relieve the injured and oppreſſed: beſides, he had a view to render himſelf maſter of the whole Baltic ſhore, and he knew it would be an enterprize highly popular in the empire to attack Walſtein's new acquiſitions. He left the greater part of his army encamped before Stettin, and embarking 12000 choſen men on board his fleet, he paſſed by Wolgaſt and Stralſund, ſurpriſed Bart, and then took by ſtorm the important towns of Damgarten and Ribnitz. Theſe two places were conſidered in thoſe days as the key of the duchy of Mecklenburg on the ſide of Pomerania. Having thus ſecured a footing in that province, he publiſhed a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants of Mecklenburg, to renew their allegiance to their natural and lawful princes, and ſhake off the yoke of foreign oppreſſion. Mean while Torquato had diſpatched the duke of Savelli into Mecklenburg, in order to obſerve the motions of the Swediſh army. The king next bent his march towards Roſtock, but Savelli had been before-hand with him, and thrown by ſurprize a ſtrong garriſon into the town. Guſtavus however thought proper to inveſt it, and being confirmed in his good opinion of the loyalty of the Mecklenburghers, he publiſhed a ſecond proclamation or manifeſto, containing little more than a bitter invective againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of Walſtein. Then leaving Banier with orders to continue the blockade, he returned to his camp at Stettin.

Sept. 14.

Sept. 16.

Sept. 18. Guſtavus returns to Pomerania, and diſlodges the imperialiſts from ſeveral poſts.

DURING the king's abſence, the imperialiſts, under Torquato Conti, attacked the Swediſh camp before Stettin; but as they were vigorouſly repulſed, they vented their fury on the little town of Paſewalk, where they put the whole garriſon to the ſword. As an act of ſuch cruelty was likely to occaſion repriſals on the part of the Swedes, the king thought proper to prevent things from coming to ſuch extremities, and a cartel was ſettled, by which the treatment of priſoners of war was conduct-

ed with humanity: an act that does infinite honour to that prince's memory. Guſtavus, after his return from Mecklenburg, laid ſiege to Colberg, a ſea-port town beyond the Oder; the imperialiſts attempted to raiſe the ſiege, but were repulſed. The imperial army was daily mouldering away, in conſequence of the ſeverity of the winter, and the ſcarcity of proviſions, which had leſs effect upon the Swedes, who were thoroughly inured to hardſhips. In the month of November his majeſty received from England the ſum of 60,000l. with advice of the marquis of Hamilton's being engaged in raiſing a body of troops for his ſervice. Guſtavus thought this a proper ſeaſon to diſlodge the imperialiſts from their ſeveral poſts. He took Griffenhagen by ſtorm; and ſuch an effect had this ſucceſs upon the troops encamped before the town of Gartz, that they abandoned the place without waiting for the enemy, and retired to Franckfort on the Oder. Such were the preludes of this new war, from the month of June, when Guſtavus landed ed in Germany, till the expiration of the year 1630. One would imagine that his intention by theſe ſkirmiſhes was to try his ſtrength, before he would engage in more arduous enterprizes. Before the end of the year, Torquato, grown ſick of a war where he made no figure, reſigned the command of the army to count Schomberg, and retired to Rome, where he got an eaſier poſt, that of general of the pontifical forces. Theſe ſucceſſes of the Swediſh arms gave new life to the proteſtant cauſe; and as they began now to perceive there was a poſſibility of overthrowing the mighty coloſſus, by which they had been oppreſſed, the houſes of Brunſwick and Heſſe had the courage to join the victor.

1631. Puſillanimous conduct of the German princes.

How confident ſoever Guſtavus might have been of the number * and goodneſs of his troops, he was ſtill ſenſible that he could never make any durable progreſs in ſo powerful an em-

* He had now increaſed his army to 34,400 foot, and 11,800 horſe, without including the Britiſh and German troops in Pruſſia, the forces under Banier in Mecklenburg, and the eight regiments employed in the blockade of Colberg: he had likewiſe in Sweden a body of reſerve, of 25,000 men, in all 71,200 men.

pire as Germany, by his own ſtrength alone. His hopes of ſucceſs depended upon ſetting the Germans againſt each other, and arming the members againſt their chief. He had flattered himſelf that as ſoon as he had ſet foot in the empire, the diſcontented princes would come and join him; but the greater part of them were ſtill with-held by the conſideration of the uncertain ſucceſs of a new war, and confined themſelves at preſent to prayers and good wiſhes for the proſperity of his arms, without openly declaring themſelves in his favour. This was particularly the caſe with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, whoſe dubious and irreſolute conduct plainly convinced him, that he muſt either compel them to join him, as he had done in the caſe of the duke of Pomerania, or pave the way for a nearer connexion by a ſeries of ſignal exploits. In this critical ſituation he concluded an alliance of great importance with the king of France, who was deſirous of reducing the overgrown power of the houſe of Auſtria. The treaty was negotiated by the baron de Charnaſſé, and ſigned by the king of Sweden and that miniſter on the 13th of January, at Berenwald, in the marquiſate of Brandenburg. The principal articles were, that the two monarchs ſhould unite their forces in order to eſtabliſh the liberty of navigation and commerce in the ocean and the Baltic; that they ſhould prevent the farther oppreſſion of the German ſtates; and, without diſturbing the catholics, the proteſtants ſhould be reſtored to the free exerciſe of their religion. The French in this treaty particularly included the elector of Bavaria and the princes of the league, provided they did not eſpouſe the part of Ferdinand II. This alliance was to continue ſix years, during which the Swedes were to maintain an army of 36000 men in Germany, in conſequence of an annual ſubſidy of 400000 crowns from France. The neutrality offered to the catholic princes in this treaty was a piece of refined policy in cardinal Richlieu, to detach them by that bait from their cloſe connexion with the emperor *.

Treaty of Berenwald between Guſtavus and the king of France.

* Loccenius, Puffendorff, Heiſſe, Harte, Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz.

THE

The news of this alliance gave infinite umbrage and offence to the imperial miniſters, who had flattered themſelves that Guſtavus would ſoon be obliged to repaſs the ſea for want of money. They now ſaw he was no king of ſnow, as they had contemptuouſly called him, that would melt away as he approached the ſouth, and that the war was likely to be of more dangerous conſequence than they at firſt imagined. Hoſtilities were now recommenced in the depth of winter, with great vivacity in the duchy of Pomerania, and the electorate of Brandenburg. The king of Sweden having given the command of the army in Pomerania, on the other ſide of the Oder, to Guſtavus Horn, and that of the troops in the New Marck, to general Banier, commanded in perſon on this ſide the river in the Ucker Marck. His majeſty was remarkably ſkilful in the art of inveſting and attacking towns, which was of infinite uſe to him in a country that had ſo many fortreſſes to retard his progreſs. He ſoon made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong places, and among the reſt of Dammin, Malchin *, and Colberg, which laſt town capitulated after a long ſiege. The loſs of Dammin, a town of great importance on the frontiers of Mecklenburg, and where Savelli commanded a garriſon of 1700 veteran troops, was very mortifying to the emperor; who perceiving that his generals in that part of Germany, were not an equal match for the enemy gave orders to count Tilly, an experienced and fortunate commander, to make head againſt the Swediſh monarch.

Farther progreſs of the Swediſh arms.

* We cannot help taking notice of the uncommon ſtratagem by which Malchin, a ſtrong fort upon the banks of the Peine, was taken, by a native of Mecklenburg. This man's name was Melk, who, from a common ſoldier, roſe to be a partizan of repute. He had only 800 foot, and 36 horſemen under his command, but muſtering a great number of peaſants, and diſperſing them in different parts round the fort, each with two lighted torches in his hands, he ſummoned the garriſon at four in the morning to capitulate, in the name of the king, and his whole army, threatening them that if they did not immediately comply, they muſt expect no quarters. This intimidated the enemy to ſuch a degree, that they immediately ſurrendered, and were made priſoners of war; when, upon diſcovering their error, they bluſhed to think of ever returning to their ancient companions, and all entered into the king's ſervice.

The marquis of Hamilton carries over 6000 men to Guſtavus.

ABOUT this time Charles I. king of England, hoping that, by the aſſiſtance of the king of Sweden, he ſhould be able to recover the Palatinate for his brother-in-law, made a private agreement with Guſtavus, whereby he engaged to furniſh that prince with 6000 men; but that he might obſerve the appearance of neutrality, they were to be raiſed in the marquis of Hamilton's name, a nobleman allied to the crown. This low ſubterfuge did not deceive the emperor, but it only gave Charles the aſſurance to ſay that the above ſtep was taken without his conſent. Hamilton however enliſted thoſe troops in England and Scotland, at Charles's expence, and landed them at Wolgaſt in Pomerania. But Charles failed of the purpoſe for which he entered into this alliance. Guſtavus, elated by his ſucceſſes after the battle of Leipſick, began to form more extenſive plans of ambition, and refuſed to reſtore the Palatine to his dominions, but on conditions which would have kept that prince in a total dependence. The marquis of Hamilton met with very indifferent treatment at Guſtavus's hands; of his 6000 men, not 600 returned; the reſt died of hunger and ſickneſs, without having ſcarce ever ſeen the face of an enemy.

Tilly marches an army againſt Guſtavus.

TILLY, in compliance with his orders, ſoon collected the imperial troops that had been ſcattered in the ſeveral provinces, and marched againſt the Swedes. His preſence encouraged the imperialiſts, and gave a new turn to their affairs. On his march he ſtrengthened the garriſons of Frankfort on the Oder and Landſberg. From thence he went and laid ſiege to New Brandenburg, where Kniphauſen commanded. The garriſon, conſiſting of two Swediſh regiments, made a vigorous defence; but the place was taken by ſtorm, and moſt of the Swediſh troops were put to the ſword. The young count de Montecuculi, then only in his 23d year, was the firſt man that mounted the walls; he lived afterwards to rival marſhal Turenne in military glory. Tilly, finding that he could make no farther progreſs on that ſide, as the king had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the paſſes in Upper Pomerania, and was ſtrongly entrenched in his camp, in the neighbourhood of Suedt, contented himſelf with diſmantling

New

New Brandenburg, and marched his army back towards Magdeburg. Being ambitious to meaſure his ſword with the king of Sweden in the open field, he reſolved to lay ſiege to that important city, in hopes that the king would rather venture an engagement, than ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the imperialiſts.

Farther progreſs of Guſtavus.

As ſoon as Guſtavus was appriſed of Tilly's retreat, he marched with his whole army towards Frankfort on the Oder, which was defended by a very numerous garriſon under count Schomberg. The place nevertheleſs was taken by ſtorm on the third day, on which occaſion 700 of the enemy were killed, and 800 taken priſoners, among whom were ſeveral officers of rank. From thence the king marched with a detachment of his army, to lay ſiege to Landſberg, the garriſon of which place were ſtruck with a panic upon the death of their commander, and ſhamefully ſurrendered in a few days, though they were more numerous than the beſiegers. By the taking of thoſe two towns, Guſtavus had now a paſſage open into Sileſia and Brandenburg, and Tilly apprehending leſt he ſhould attempt to invade thoſe provinces, haſtened his preparations for laying ſiege to Magdeburg.

April 2.

Union of Leipſick.

At this very juncture the proteſtant princes of Germany were holding a general aſſembly* at Leipſick, with a view of oppoſing the imperial edict of Reſtitution. The king of Sweden ſent his deputies to this aſſembly, exhorting the members to join with him in an alliance againſt the emperor, and to furniſh him with ſupplies of men and money. The elector of Saxony, one of the moſt powerful of thoſe princes, was a long time before he would declare himſelf, and concealed his ſentiments under various pretences; his real aim was to be elected head of the proteſtant union, and to hold an equal balance between the emperor and the king of Sweden. Guſtavus, perceiving that the proteſtant princes were upon their guard, and ſeemed in ſome meaſure to diſtruſt him,

* This aſſembly began Feb. 8, 1630, O. S. and ended April 3, 1631.

found

found he had a very difficult part to act, a part which required a full exertion of all his political abilities. Though he was ſincerely deſirous of preventing the city of Magdeburg from falling into the hands of the enemy, he did not think it prudent to march to the relief of that place, before he had ſecured a retreat. He had indeed concluded a ſort of alliance with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and duke William of Saxe Weymar; but the conduct of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg gave him great uneaſineſs. The former, ſtill agitated with apprehenſions concerning the ſucceſs of the war, did not venture to declare himſelf, and ſeemed determined not to take up arms, till the imperialiſts had obliged him, by attacking his dominions. The latter was fluctuating in the like perplexed ſtate, and had adopted nearly the ſame plan of policy, ſo that Guſtavus could not attempt to relieve Magdeburg, without leaving ſeveral ſtrong towns behind him, which, in caſe of any misfortune, might obſtruct his retreat.

Guſtavus concludes a treaty with the elector of Brandenburg.

UNABLE any longer to continue in this ſtate of ſuſpence, the king marched all of a ſudden into the marquiſate of Brandenburg, and inſiſted on the elector's admitting a Swediſh garriſon into Spandaw and Cuſtrin, two important poſts upon the Oder and the Havel. The elector, through fear of the emperor's reſentment, refuſed at firſt to conſent, but Guſtavus, advancing with his army into the neighbourhood of Berlin, partly by menaces, and partly by ſtrength of argument, prevailed on that prince to

May 3d.

admit a Swediſh garriſon into Spandaw only for a month. The king indeed was very much diſſatisfied with the ſhyneſs and timidity of the proteſtant ſtates; his opinion was, that in the preſent juncture all connexions with the emperor had ceaſed, ſince he himſelf had annulled them by his illegal oppreſſions: and upon this very occaſion he made uſe of the following expreſſions to John Albert, duke of Mecklenburg, who attended his majeſty before Berlin, "Couſin, be pleaſed to obſerve, that I am now marching towards Magdeburg, for the "benefit and advantage of the evangelical religion, and not for "any intereſt of my own: if no body will join me, I will march "back,

"back, entrench myſelf in my camp, offer a treaty to the em-
"peror, and return to Stockholm: that the emperor will come
"into this meaſure is certain; but at the laſt day a charge will be
"brought againſt you proteſtants of Germany, for not exerting
"yourſelves in the cauſe of the goſpel; and even in this world,
"for your indifference and ſupineneſs, you will not go un-
"puniſhed."

THE king having carried his point with this prince, ſollicited the elector of Saxony to come and join him near the bridge of Deſſaw, in order to raiſe the ſiege of Magdeburg *, and to ſupply him in the mean time with ammunition and proviſions. But the elector refuſed him both, pleading the allegiance which he owed to the emperor, and that it had never been his intention to make his own country the ſeat of war. May 3.

THESE negotiations took up ſome time, during which Tilly carried on the ſiege of Magdeburg with ſuch vigour as to reduced the town to extremity. After having in vain ſummoned the inhabitants to ſurrender, he took the town by place, on the 10th of May, at ſeven in the morning. Count Pappenheim was the firſt that mounted the ramparts, and was ſoon followed by the whole imperial army. The adminiſtrator, who had behaved moſt gallantly during the ſiege, was taken priſoner at the beginning of the aſſault, after receiving ſeven muſquet ſhots; to complete his misfortune, the barbarous ruffians gave him two dangerous wounds in cold blood, ſtripped him almoſt naked, and would have certainly murdered him, if Pappenheim had not come up opportunely to ſave his life †. The aſſailants

The ſiege of Magdeburg.

May 10.

* Magdeburg is a large populous city, in Lower Saxony, capital of the duchy of that name, once the ſee of an archbiſhop, and now belonging to the king of Pruſſia. It ſtands upon the river Elbe, in a fruitful country, between the electorate of Saxony, and Brandenburg, and is extremely well fortified. *Magdeburg* is a German word, which ſignifies a maiden town, and it bears for arms a virgin crowned, ſuppoſed to be Venus, who was worſhipped in this country till the reign of Charlemagne. But I never heard that Venus was a virgin.

† When he was brought before Tilly, he made a bold ſpeech to that general, and his officers, reproaching them with their cruelty. Tilly carried him round the empire for ſome time as a trophy; yet ſuch is the unaccountable caprice of man, this very adminiſtrator afterwards became a convert to the church of Rome, and a zealous friend to that Ferdinand, by whom he had been ſo cruelly perſecuted.

immediately ſpread themſelves through the ſtreets, and committed, all the barbarities and cruelties that the moſt furious brutality is capable of ſuggeſting. Thirty thouſand inhabitants of both ſexes loſt their lives by different kinds of death. Some, who eſcaped the flames, were drowned in the Elbe; others, whom the ſword had ſpared, were conſumed by fire, which ſpreading with the utmoſt rapidity, by means of a very high wind, in a few hours laid one of the fineſt cities of Germany in aſhes, thus fruſtrating the avarice of the ſoldiery, who had nothing left them but a heap of miſerable ruins.

Guſtavus forces the elector of Brandenburg to come into his meaſures.

MAGDEBURG's unhappy cataſtrophe ſtruck all Germany with the greateſt conſternation. The catholics themſelves were moved to pity, and the proteſtants conceived an implacable averſion to count Tilly; while this general threw the whole blame on the obſtinacy of the inhabitants, who had been deaf to all terms of ſurrender. Some even pretend that he never had any deſign of ſtorming the town, and that count Pappenheim ſcaled the walls without his knowledge. Be that as it may, Tilly, who had hitherto conducted himſelf with the appearance of good-nature and humanity, greatly ſuffered in his character on this occaſion. The king of Sweden, apprehending that he ſhould be ſeverely cenſured for having ſuffered the enemy to take ſo important a place, thought proper to publiſh an apology for his conduct, in which he imputed the whole misfortune to the irreſolution of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, which prevented his relieving that unfortunate city. Though, by virtue of his agreement with the elector of Brandenburg, he was obliged to reſtore Spandaw within the ſpace of a month, yet as he could not venture to penetrate any farther on the banks of the Elbe, unleſs he was ſecure of a paſſage over the river Havel, and was certain that the enemy would not poſſeſs themſelves of the town of Cuſtrin upon the Oder, he now uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the elector of Brandenburg, either to join him with his forces, or to let him have the abſolute poſſeſſion of Spandaw and Cuſtrin till the concluſion of the war. The elector, being

ſtill irreſolute, and afraid of the emperor's indignation, the king thought proper, for his own ſecurity, to oblige him by force, to come into his meaſures. It was conſequently ſettled that Spandaw and Cuſtrin ſhould be garriſoned with Swediſh troops during the war, to prevent the imperialiſts from making an irruption through the marquiſate of Brandenburg into Pomerania, which the king had made his magazine and place of arms. This affair being adjuſted, Guſtavus extended his army along the banks of the Havel, the better to obſerve the motions of the enemy. Soon after he ſet out for Pomerania, where Aike Todt, one of his generals had made himſelf maſter of Gripſwald, which he had blockaded for ſome time. Peruſi, the commandant, defended it with great bravery, but, upon his being killed in a ſally, the garriſon thought proper to ſurrender. Guſtavus, having now chaſed the imperialiſts intirely out of Pomerania, detached a part of his troops, which had been quartered in that province, to the aſſiſtance of his couſins the dukes of Mecklenburg, who were endeavouring to recover their hereditary dominions; and ordering the remainder to march towards the marquiſate of Brandenburg, he went and encamped on the banks of the Elbe, in the neighbourhood of Werben, a ſituation moſt convenient for watching the motions of the imperial general *.

Guſtavus aſſiſts the dukes of Mecklenburg to recover their country.

Gustavus, ſoon after his arrival in Germany, had taken ſome ſteps, as we have already obſerved, towards reinſtating the dukes of Mecklenburg in their patrimonial inheritance. He had already made himſelf maſter of Ribenitz and Damgarten, on the frontiers of that duchy, from whence the troops, under the command of colonel Todt, who ſucceeded Banier, made frequent excurſions, ſo as to harraſs the few imperialiſts that had been left for the defence of the country. Todt, having now received a reinforcement from the king, with orders to act againſt the enemy with vigour, puſhed on to Guſtrow and Butzow, and poſſeſſed himſelf of both thoſe towns, from whence the imperial garriſons withdrew to Roſtock.

* Puffendorff, Bougeant, Harte, Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz, Heiſſe.

From thence the Swediſh army proceeded to the town of Plau, which, after a three days ſiege, was obliged to ſurrender. In the mean time duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, who had lived the life of exiles at Lubeck, remained not idle, but gathered together a body of ſix thouſand men, with which they
1631. marched to Gadebuſch, on the 18th of July, and made themſelves maſters of that town without any reſiſtance. From thence they proceeded to Schwerin, where they were joined by the Swediſh army, under the command of colonel Todt. The town was taken by ſtorm, but the citadel or caſtle thought proper to capitulate, and the garriſon were allowed to retire with military honours, part of them to Domitz, and part to Wiſmar. Thus the whole duchy of Mecklenburg was once more reduced under the poſſeſſion of its ancient ſovereigns, except the towns of Roſtock and Wiſmar, and the ſtrong fortreſs of Domitz.

Reſtoration and ſecond inauguration of the dukes of Mecklenburg.

THE expulſion of the imperialiſts out of Mecklenburg, was followed by the joyful return of the two dukes to their capitals. As that was an age addicted to pomp, their ſecond inauguration was more ſplendid than one could have imagined in the midſt of ſo deſtructive a war. In order to add to its magnificence the king of Sweden himſelf was willing to grace the ceremony with his preſence. The joy and ſatisfaction of the people diſplayed itſelf in the higheſt degree upon ſeeing their ancient ſovereigns
June 25, 1631. make their public entry into Guſtrow. In the morning between ſeven and eight, the bells began to ring, the great guns were fired, and the trumpets from the top of the ſpires ſounded the tune of *Our God is a ſtrong fortreſs*. This laſted till nine, when the burghers, with the deputies of all the other towns, went and poſted themſelves before the city gates, with a detachment of five hundred men; a company of ſoldiers was drawn up in the market-place, with a troop of cuiraſſiers, a company of arquebuſiers, and a body of burghers before the caſtle.

THINGS being thus arranged, the gentry and nobility, to the number of 800, marched forth in proceſſion with drums and trumpets, accompanied by 124 eccleſiaſtics, and all the ſchool-

maſters,

maſters and boys belonging to the Gymnaſium, to meet their ſovereigns, who were coming from Schwerin, eſcorted by 1000 muſqueteers, and 500 horſe, in company with the king of Sweden, who was guarded by a numerous body of horſe and foot. They were met by the king and the two dukes, about two miles from the town, when the muſicians began to ſing, *Laus et perennis gloria Deo Patri, Filio, & Spiritui Sancto.* Hereupon they received the thanks of the two dukes and his Swediſh majeſty, and in the following order proceeded to Guſtrow.

1. WENT the chanters and the clergy, ſinging triumphal ſongs.

2. THE bells rang a doleful knell, as if it were upon account of ſome funeral.

3. ALL the magiſtrates of Guſtrow, and the deputies of the other towns, walked with flying colours before them.

4. THEN followed eight hundred of the gentry and nobility, being the principal families of the whole country.

5. To theſe ſucceeded the two heralds of the principalities of Schwerin and Guſtrow, Charles Manig and Peter Bitz, dreſſed in blue velvet, and their horſes adorned with green and white feathers.

6. THEN came his ſerene highneſs, John Albert, duke of Mecklenburg, dreſſed in black, (to ſhow his late diſtreſſed ſituation.)

7. NEXT followed thirty-ſix horſe guards, with their drawn ſwords.

8. THESE were ſucceeded by ſix kettle drums, and thirty-ſix trumpets, dreſſed in three different liveries, blue, green, and white.

9. Now came the king of Sweden mounted on horſeback, with twenty-four livery-ſervants, and eighteen troopers on each ſide. His majeſty was dreſſed in green, with a blue and white plumage in his hat.

10. The king was followed by Adolph Frederick, the other duke of Mecklenburg, who was dreſſed in blue velvet.

11. NEXT came Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, on horseback, with the young prince of Denmark * on the right, and William duke of Courland on the left.

12. To these succeeded the young children of both the dukes of Mecklenburg, with colonel Baudis on their right, and colonel Streiff on their left, on horseback.

13. THEN came the ladies of Mecklenburg, in one hundred and thirty-one coaches.

14. The procession was closed by eighteen hundred horse.

THE burghers and soldiers received his majesty and the dukes with acclamations of joy, and conducted them to the castle, under a triple discharge of musquetry and artillery.

THE next day, at seven in the morning, all the bells rang joyfully upwards of an hour, after which his Swedish majesty, with the young prince of Denmark, the duke of Pomerania, and both the dukes of Mecklenburg, went to the Dome church, where they assisted at divine service, which was performed with vocal and instrumental music, and heard a sermon, the text of which was, *They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy*, Psalm cxxvi. After which Te Deum was sung to the sound of drums and trumpets, and a general discharge of musquetry and artillery. Many of the spectators cried with joy, at hearing a protestant sermon, a consolation of which they had been so long deprived. Divine service being over, the bells rung once more, and the church doors were opened, when the king, with the two dukes of Mecklenburg, went on horseback to the town-house, whither all the magistrates had proceeded with flying colours; upon the approach of his majesty and the two dukes they presented to the latter a writing or memorial, setting forth the weakened and distressed condition of the country. This being done, they took a new oath of subjection and allegiance to duke Adolph Frederick and his brother, which was read to them by Oxenstiern, great chancellor; who, in the name of his sovereign, released them from all subjection and obedience to Walstein. Twenty

* Ulric III. son of Christian IV.

hogsheads

hogſheads of wine, and forty of beer were given to the poor, and a ſplendid entertainment was made for the principal burghers. Medals were thrown to the populace, with the heads of the two reigning princes on one ſide, and a pelican upon the reverſe, piercing two human breaſts with its beak, and feeding its young with ſtreams of blood. On this great ſolemnity, Guſtavus gave orders that parents ſhould bring their young children with them to taſte of the feſtal wine, that they might remember, with tranſports of thankfulneſs, the reſtoration of their lawful ſovereigns, as well as of their religion and liberty. This ceremony being finiſhed *, the king took his leave of the two dukes, leaving a body of troops to aſſiſt them in the recovery of Roſtock and Wiſmar, while he returned to his army in the electorate of Brandenburg †.

* It is ſomething very ſurpriſing that M. Beehr ſhould be ſo ſceptical as to queſtion the truth of this ceremony, when it is atteſted by ſo many cotemporary writers of great credit, but principally by Arlanibæus, the author of *Arma Suetica*, who declares that he himſelf ſaw the whole proceſſion. Beſides the ſtory is confirmed beyond all doubt, by the archives of Mecklenburg, as we are informed by Kluver.

† Arlanibæus Arma Suecica, Kluver, Theatrum Europeum, Harte.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The SWEDISH WAR, from the RESTORATION of the DUKES of MECKLENBURG to the TREATY of PRAGUE, in 1635.

Tilly receives orders to reduce the Leipſick confederates. He attempts in vain to force Guſtavus's camp at Werben. Marches againſt the elector of Saxony. The latter joins the Swediſh army. Battle of Leipſick. Conſequences of Guſtavus's victory. Roſtock, Domitz, and Wiſmar recovered by the dukes of Mecklenburg. Progreſs of the Swediſh arms under Guſtavus Adolphus. Walſtein reſtored to the command of the imperial army. The paſſage of the Leck, and count Tilly killed. Guſtavus over-runs Bavaria. He attacks Walſtein in his camp, and is repulſed. Battle of Lutzen, where Guſtavus is killed. Situation of the Swediſh affairs under Oxenſtiern. Walſtein aſſaſſinated by the emperor's orders. Battle of Nordlingen. Treaty of Prague, by which the dukes of Mecklenburg are reconciled to the emperor.

Tilly receives orders to reduce the Leipſick confederates.

FERDINAND's reſentment was ſo inflamed againſt the ſeveral ſtates which had joined in the late confederacy of Leipſick, that he ſeemed determined to reduce them to obedience. Already had Memmingen, Ulm, the towns of Suabia, and the circle of Franconia, with the young duke of Wirtemberg been obliged to renounce that alliance; ſtill the emperor was not eaſy, whilſt the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, who were the chiefs of that league, continued to keep up the ſpirits of the party. Orders therefore were ſent to count Tilly, to lead his army into the territories of thoſe princes, if they perſiſted in refuſing to relinquiſh that alliance. The general immediately complied with his directions, and ſetting out from Magdeburg, marched his forces into Thuringia, where he committed great ravages upon the territories of the princes of the houſe of Saxony,

Saxony, and eſpecially in the neighbourhood of Weimar. He then proceeded to Mulhauſen, from whence he ſent a ſummons of ſubmiſſion to the the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel to ſubmit to the emperor. The landgrave refuſing to obey, Tilly was preparing to uſe compulſion, when he received advice from count Pappenheim, that the king of Sweden had pitched his camp on this ſide of the Elbe, after making himſelf maſter of the towns of Tangermund and Havelberg; upon which the imperial general altered his plan, and marched directly back, either to give battle to Guſtavus, or oblige him to repaſs the river.

Attempts in vain to force Guſtavus's camp at Werben.

THE king having received intelligence that the vanguard of the enemy was arrived at Wolmerſted, at a ſmall diſtance from his camp, fell upon them unawares, and demoliſhed three regiments of imperial cavalry. Tilly notwithſtanding advanced with the main body of his army as far as Werben; but miſcarried in his attack. Guſtavus was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that it was impoſſible to force him in his camp, or to draw him into the open field. Beſides, as Tilly began to want forage and proviſions, he was under a neceſſity of returning to his camp near Wolmerſted. At this very time, William, landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, ſeeing himſelf menaced by the imperialiſts, came and joined Guſtavus's army in the neighbourhood of Werben. The alliance between theſe two princes, which had been ſet on foot the preceding year, was now concluded. This was one of the firſt German princes, who, bidding defiance to imperial threats, voluntarily embraced the Swediſh party, and who, as well as the princeſs his widow, adhered conſtantly to Guſtavus, and ſtrictly obſerved the articles of their alliance.

Marches againſt the elector of Saxony.

COUNT Tilly having obſerved that there was nothing to be done before Werben, reſolved to turn his arms againſt the elector of Saxony in order to oblige him to renounce the confederacy of Leipſick. He flattered himſelf, that if he ſhould be able to reduce that prince, the king of Sweden would not long have it in his power to maintain himſelf in Germany, and beſides he ſhould have no danger to apprehend in the rear of his army.

Finding the elector inflexibly attached to the cauſe he had eſpouſed, he marched his army which had lately been joined by fifteen thouſand men from Italy, into the electorate of Saxony, where he made himſelf maſter of Merſeburg and Leipſick, wreaking his vengeance on the poor inhabitants of the open country for the conduct of their ſovereign.

ALL hiſtorians agree that this was a moſt impolitic ſtep in the imperial general, ſince it obliged the elector of Saxony to throw himſelf at length againſt his will into the arms of Sweden; it was certainly contrary to the advice of that wiſe and artful politician, the duke of Bavaria; for it would have been an eaſy matter for him to amuſe the elector with ſham negotiations, or at leaſt to prevent his junction with the Swedes, by poſting himſelf betwixt the two armies, and by degrees weakening them both; whereas by his preſent conduct he encreaſed the number of the emperor's foes, while Sweden gained a new and powerful ally. It is ſaid in his defence, that he acted under the directions of the imperial court; while others are of opinion, that, being elated by his paſt victories, he flattered himſelf with the expectation of bringing the war to a ſpeedier iſſue, by demoliſhing the Swediſh king and his new ally at one ſingle blow. Be that as it may, this was the fatal term of Ferdinand's ſucceſſes, of Tilly's glory, and of the enormous power of the houſe of Auſtria, under which all Germany had ſo long groaned.

The elector of Saxony joins the Swediſh army.

THE elector, finding himſelf hard preſſed by Tilly, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgaw, applied immediately to Guſtavus for his aſſiſtance, and begged he would join his army to make head againſt the imperial forces. The king, who had foreſeen all that happened, was then advanced as far as New Brandenburg, and, though he was highly pleaſed with ſeeing the elector reduced to the neceſſity of imploring the aid which he had formerly refuſed, he did not think proper to comply with his requeſt, till certain conditions were ſettled; the principal of which were, that he ſhould deliver the town of Wittemberg into his poſſeſſion, to ſecure a retreat in caſe of neceſſity; and that he ſhould enter into an alliance with Sweden for their

their mutual defence. The elector had no time left for negotiation, and as the enemy was advancing, he readily conſented to whatever the king demanded. Upon which Guſtavus paſſed the Elbe in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, with thirteen thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, and joined the electoral troops near Dieben. There they had a council of war, at which the elector of Brandenburg aſſiſted. The king, not imagining that ſuch an old and experienced general as Tilly would quit ſo advantageous a poſt as that where he was encamped, declared his opinion, that it was incumbent upon them to act with caution. But the elector of Saxony, impatient of delay, and unwilling that his dominions ſhould continue for any time the ſeat of war, proteſted that he would venture to encounter the enemy with his own troops only, if the king refuſed to join him. It was therefore reſolved to give battle to the enemy, and then the elector of Brandenburg took his leave of the confederates. Guſtavus was abſolutely of opinion, that it would be the moſt prudent meaſure, to fall upon the imperialiſts immediately, before they could be joined by the generals Altringer and Tieffenbach, who were daily expected.

Battle of Leipſick, Sept. 17.

THE king took the command of the right wing, the elector of Saxony that of the left, and they both advanced towards the enemy. Tilly, having had advice of their march, was for maintaining his advantageous poſt, and entrenching himſelf in his camp before Leipſick: but count Pappenheim, and the reſt of the imperial generals, depending too much on the valour of their veteran bands, deſpiſed the elector's new-raiſed men, and looked upon the king's troops as exhauſted and fatigued by long marches; hence they prevailed on Tilly to quit his ſtrong poſt, and to march into the plains of Breitenfeld, where that able general loſt the fruit of all the victories he had obtained during the ſpace of twelve years, with the higheſt reputation of bravery and good conduct.

Sept. 17.

TILLY gave the command of the right wing to the count of Furſtemberg, that of the left to Pappenheim, and he himſelf commanded in the center. The two armies were nearly equal in num-

ber, each conſiſting of about forty thouſand men. The imperial general had choſen the higheſt ground on the field of battle, to plant his cannon, and he had alſo the wind in his favour. But the king, by intermixing ſome infantry with his cavalry, made a movement in the main body of his army, by which he gained the advantage of the wind, and divided the enemy's left wing, which was attacked by general Banier, and put to flight. The greateſt efforts of the imperialiſts fell upon the Saxons, which being new-raiſed troops ſoon gave way, and quitted the field of battle. The elector himſelf, thinking all was loſt, fled to Culemburg. Upon which Guſtavus, with the wing under his command, attacked the imperial cavalry, that had been in purſuit of the Saxons, and eaſily routed them. Still the imperial infantry made a ſtand, till Guſtavus attacking them in flank with ſome ſquadrons of his right wing, and plying them briſkly with his field pieces, threw them into confuſion; at the ſame, time making himſelf maſter of the enemy's cannon, he threw their left wing, which ſtill made ſome reſiſtance, into diſorder, whereby he obtained a complete victory. The imperialiſts on that memorable day loſt ſeven thouſand ſix hundred men killed, and five thouſand priſoners, who enliſted in Guſtavus's army. Tilly himſelf, refuſing to aſk quarter, would have been ſlain by a captain of horſe, if Rodolph Maximilian, duke of Saxe Lawemburg, had not come up at the time, and ſhot the officer. The Swedes loſt two thouſand men, moſtly cavalry, and the Saxons three thouſand.

Conſequences of Guſtavus's victory.

So ſignal a victory intirely broke the meaſures of the emperor and the catholic league. On the other hand, it gave new life to the German proteſtants, who began to think of ſhaking off the imperial yoke. In conſequence of this glorious ſucceſs Guſtavus gained a ſuperiority, which ſhook the imperial throne. What followed was only a chain of victories, and one continued ſeries of triumphs. The terror of the Swediſh arms ſpread itſelf to the remoteſt corners of Germany, and to the neighbouring ſtates. The firſt fruit of this great victory was the re-taking of Leipſick, and ſome other places which the imperialiſts had wreſted

wreſted from the elector of Saxony. At a council of war, held by the allies at Hall, it was reſolved not to purſue Tilly, who had retired with a few ſhattered troops to the Weſer, but to carry their victorious arms into the emperor's hereditary dominions and the Roman catholic ſtates. The king was to lead his army into Franconia, while the elector of Saxony invaded Bohemia. In conſequence of this reſolution, Guſtavus marched his forces towards Erfurt; which the duke of Saxe Weimar entered without oppoſition; from thence the king moved into Franconia, where he took Koningshoſen and Sweinfurt without much trouble, and the caſtle of Wurtzburg after ſome reſiſtance. In the mean time Tilly, having received a reinforcement of troops, which had been ſcattered in different parts of Germany, advanced towards the king in order to raiſe the ſiege of Wurtzburg, but arrived too late to preſerve that city. Finding himſelf diſappointed, he turned off towards the Tauber, in order to cover the emperor's hereditary provinces, as well as the electorate of Bavaria. The king, having concluded an alliance with the margrave of Anſpach, marched towards the Rhine, and ſurpriſed the town of Hanau; but Frankfort on the Maine opened her gates to him of her own accord. Then, making himſelf maſter of the whole diſtrict called the Rhingau, he turned his arms towards the Palatinate, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards. He took his way through the Bergſtraſs, where he made himſelf maſter of Germerſheim; and croſſed the Rhine not far from Stockſtadt, where he defeated the Spaniards, who attempted to oppoſe his paſſage. At Oppenheim he cut a body of five hundred Spainards to pieces, and having laid ſiege to Mentz, it ſurrendered by capitulation; ſoon after Landau, Spire, Weiſſemburg, and Manheim underwent the ſame fate *.

Roſtock, Domitz, and Wiſmar recovered by the dukes of Mecklenburg.

DURING theſe rapid ſucceſſes on the Rhine, the Swediſh forces under general Todt, joined by the troops of Mecklenburg, under duke Adolph Frederick, had laid ſiege to Roſtock, which made a moſt obſtinate defence. The commandant was count

* Puffendorff, Heiſſ. Pfeffel, Harte, Beehr, Kluver, Barre.

Virmond,

Virmond, on whom the government of that city devolved upon the murder of colonel Hatzfeld. The circumſtances of this cataſtrophe are very ſingular. One Jacob Vermeyer, a native of Oſnabrug, had conceived an implacable averſion to the colonel, for which no reaſon could be aſſigned. He artfully concealed his reſentment a long time, and inſinuated himſelf into that commander's good graces, ſo as to be employed by him in the capacity of an amanuenſis. One day, as the colonel was very buſy in ſorting ſome papers, Vermeyer came behind him with an ax, which he had in readineſs for that purpoſe, and as the colonel was ſtooping, ſtunned him with one blow, then cutting off his head, carried it away in a cloth, and concealed himſelf in a burgomaſter's houſe. Being detected, and examined with regard to the cauſe of his perpetrating ſo horrid a murder, he coolly made anſwer, that Hatzfeld had deſerved it; and this was all the confeſſion he would make under the greateſt ſeverity of the torture. But to return to count Virmond: he fought during the whole ſiege under red colours, which at that time was conſidered as a mark of holding out to the laſt extremity. At length the citizens and garriſon began to murmur, having loſt all hope of ſuccour after the battle of Leipſick. Warnemunde ſurrendered to the dukes of Mecklenburg at diſcretion; but Virmond had the addreſs to obtain a very favourable capitulation for himſelf and garriſon.

The dukes of Mecklenburg recover their whole country.

THE dukes of Mecklenburg had now recovered their whole country, except the ſtrong fortreſs of Domitz and Wiſmar. The former finding there were no hopes of ſuccours from Tilly, ſurrendered to colonel Lohauſen, after a long ſiege, on the 30th of December 1631. But the latter made a more obſtinate defence, and did not capitulate till the 10th of January 1632. The dukes of Mecklenburg, and general Todt, had inveſted Wiſmar in the autumn, where colonel Gramm, the commandant, made ſeveral furious ſallies, but at length ſurrendered, upon condition that a month's ſpace ſhould be allowed him to conſult Tieffenbach the imperial general. After he had evacuated the place, Todt found him guilty of a breach of articles in various inſtances, and being ſo fortunate as to overtake him in his march, diſperſed

his troops, and took him priſoner. Gramm offered two thouſand pounds for his ranſom, but could not obtain it. We have anticipated in ſome meaſure our account of the military operations in Mecklenburg, in order to repreſent at one view the reduction of that country under its ancient and lawful ſovereigns; we ſhall now attend its deliverer the great Guſtavus in his triumphant progreſs through Germany *.

Progreſs of Guſtavus and the confederates.

During the depth of winter the king of Sweden had been gathering laurels on the banks of the Rhine, where he was joined by Frederick, the unfortunate king of Bohemia, who was in expectation of recovering at leaſt the Palatinate by the means of this monarch. The Rhingrave, Otho Lewis, defeated the Spainards on the Moſelle, and made himſelf maſter of Creutznach, Brausfels, Bobenhauſen, and Kirchberg. In Lower Saxony, the Swedes threw a garriſon into Magdeburg, which the imperialiſts had abandoned of their own accord. William, duke of Weimar, poſſeſſed himſelf of Gozlar, Northeim, Gottingen, and Duderſtat, while the landgrave, William, was making great progreſs in Weſtphalia.

1632. Feb.

The members of the circle of Lower Saxony aſſembled, likewiſe, at Hamburg, and reſolved to raiſe ſix thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, for the defence of their circle. The elector of Saxony, after refuſing the offers of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, had ordered his army, under lieutenant general Arnheim, into Bohemia, where it reduced Prague and ſeveral other places. But, growing jealous of Guſtavus, whom he, at length, began to ſuſpect of a deſign on the imperial crown, he forbid Arnheim to enter Moravia or Auſtria.

Walſtein reſtored to the command of the imperial army.

The emperor's miniſters, alarmed at the rapidity of Guſtavus's conqueſts, at the number of the princes, who were conſtantly reſorting to his ſtandard, and at the new alliances and leagues he was every day forming with foreign powers, began to tremble for the hereditary dominions of their maſter; and for the empire itſelf. Nor were their fears ill founded. One half of Germany had already received the yoke of Sweden and her

* Behr, Buckholtz, Franck, Harte, Barre.

allies.

allies. Bohemia had been juſt reduced by the Saxons; the landgrave of Heſſe had declared for the conquerors; and the elector of Triers had thrown himſelf, for protection, into the arms of France. The king had entered into a new alliance with the proteſtant princes not to ſheath the ſword till they had obtained a full ſecurity of the Germanic conſtitution and freedom of religion. On this occaſion the dukes of Mecklenburg concluded another alliance with the Swediſh monarch. In this critical conjuncture, the emperor was adviſed by his moſt faithful ſervants to try the only way they ſtill thought left to re-eſtabliſh his affairs, or at leaſt prevent their growing worſe. This was to recall Walſtein; and again intruſt him with the ſupreme command of the imperial forces. The emperor took their advice, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the Spaniſh miniſters and the duke of Bavaria, who were no friends to Walſtein. Ferdinand again, with very great perſuaſion, engaged Walſtein in his ſervice, by moſt advantageous offers, and ſent him back his commiſſion of generaliſſimo of his armies, with an abſolute power, free from all controul by the councils at Vienna. Walſtein, not to loſe the good opinion entertained of him, contrived in three months time, to have on foot, a much more numerous army than even his friends expected, raiſed more upon his own credit than in conſequence of any aſſiſtance the imperial court could give; and then reviewed it on the frontiers of Moravia and the hereditary dominions.

DURING theſe tranſactions count Tilly had recruited his army, and falling upon Horn, the Swediſh general, in the neighbourhood of Bamberg, obtained a conſiderable victory. The king, being appriſed of that defeat, and apprehending leſt it ſhould raiſe the courage of the imperialiſts, and diſpirit his own troops, left the affairs of the Rhine to the palatine of Birckenfeld and duke Bernard, and marched towards Franconia. Beſides, he was no ſtranger to Walſtein's preparations, and was, moreover, willing to draw near Bavaria, in order to be revenged on the duke (to whom he bore no good-will) before Walſtein's army could be formed. Upon his arrival at Nuremberg, he was magnificently

nificently received by the magiſtrates of that city; but left it the moment he had got every thing ready for the ſiege of Donawert, which he thought neceſſary to have in his poſſeſſion, in order to ſecure himſelf a paſſage over the Danube. Tilly, at his approach, retreated to the other ſide of the Danube; and the king reduced all the places on that river, to within a ſmall diſtance of Ulm; from whence he advanced to the Lech, on the other ſide of which Tilly had taken poſt in a wood. It was here that general, behaving, notwithſtanding his great age, like a hero, was wounded by a cannon ball, and died ſome days after of the wound, at Ingolſtadt. No ſoldier ever expired in greater torture. The elector of Bavaria ſat conſtantly by his bed-ſide; and upon the old general's deſiring him to retire, that he might make his peace with God, he withdrew with tears. Tilly had been ſucceſsful in all his wars, till he entered the liſts with Guſtavus, and then experienced the inconſtancy of fortune. He died in the bed of honour, faithful to his prince, and to the cauſe he had eſpouſed. His character in private life was excellent, and there ſeems to be no ſtain on his memory, but the cruelties committed at Magdeburg: he outlived his military glory, and had he breathed his laſt before the battle of Leipſick, he would have been handed down to poſterity as the greateſt general of the age. Guſtavus hearing of his death, could not help ſaying with a ſigh, *Alas, the honourable old Tilly is now no more.*

Operations of the Swediſh and imperial armies in Franconia and Bavaria.

THE imperialiſts, diſmayed at the loſs of their general, abandoned their advantageous poſt; but were purſued by the Swedes, who killed above a thouſand of them, then entered Bavaria, and made themſelves maſters of Rain and Newburg on the Danube. Augſburg, likewiſe, ſurrendered with little reſiſtance. But the Swedes miſcarried in their deſigns upon Ingolſtadt and Ratiſbon. The king had a horſe killed under him before the firſt of theſe places; and Chriſtopher, margrave of Baden, fell at his ſide. The elector of Bavaria was likewiſe beforehand with his majeſty in throwing ſome troops into Ratiſbon. The king marched back into Bavaria, where he laid the whole coun-

try under contribution; and Munich opened her gates to him. During the courſe of theſe operations, Walſtein, who hated the elector of Bavaria, thought proper to leave him for ſome time to ſhift for himſelf, and marched into Bohemia, out of which kingdom he drove the Saxons, through the treachery, as is conjectured, of Arnheim, their general, who was a ſworn enemy to Guſtavus. The imperial general having recovered all Bohemia, formed, at length, the deſign of joining the elector of Bavaria, and attacking the king with their combined forces.

The elector, after leaving good garriſons in Ingolſtadt and Ratiſbon, repaired to Egra, in order to join Walſtein, and the king followed him, in hopes of being able to prevent their junction. But he was too late; and, therefore, incamped his army in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg, in order to preſerve that city from Walſtein's reſentment, and there to wait the arrival of his troops, which lay diſperſed all over Germany. Walſtein made a feint to draw off his troops towards Saxony, in order to make the king quit his advantageous ſituation near Nuremberg; but finding the king was not to be impoſed upon, he drew nearer to the Swediſh camp, and detached a large body of cavalry to occupy the paſſes: the conſequence was a great ſcarcity of forage in Guſtavus's army; but it was ſupplied with other proviſions from Nuremberg. At length, the king, having received a reinforcement of 15000 foot, and 1000 horſe, and finding himſelf thereby more than a match, in point of numbers at leaſt, for Walſtein, reſolved to attack him in his camp; but he had intrenched it ſo well, that his majeſty was forced to deſiſt from the enterprize, with the loſs of 2000 men.

Pappenheim's ſucceſſes in Lower Saxony.

In the mean time the Swediſh arms were no longer ſucceſsful in Lower Saxony, where count Pappenheim commanded the imperial forces. This able general defeated the cavalry of the archbiſhop of Bremen, in the neighbourhood of Verden; and ſurpriſed the Swedes before Stade, where he ruined Leſly's and Monro's regiments. On ſeveral other occaſions he routed the troops belonging to the princes in alliance with Sweden: he

gained

gained a victory over thoſe of Heſſe, near Wolckmarſen; he obliged George, duke of Lunenburg, and general Bauditz, to raiſe the ſiege of Callenberg; and upon his return from his expedition to Maeſtricht*, he drove Bauditz from Paderborn, and afterwards from Hoxter. He then ſuccoured Wolfembuttle, and having made himſelf maſter of Hildeſheim, directed his march through Thuringia, in order to join Walſtein's army.

On the other hand, the Saxons had entered Sileſia, with an army of 16000 men; and, as they met with no oppoſition, might have obtained very great advantages, if their general, inſtead of being faithful to the king, had not rather made it his ſtudy to promote a reconciliation between the emperor and the elector of Saxony.

Guſtavus follows Walſtein into Saxony.

Gustavus, to loſe no more time, after leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Nuremberg, reſolved to ſend part of his army into Franconia, and to march himſelf with the flower of it, towards the Danube and Bavaria, where he had already reduced ſeveral places on the river Lech. But whilſt he was thus victoriouſly penetrating into the heart of the catholic countries, there ſcarce paſſed a day without his receiving a courier from the elector of Saxony, preſſing him to haſten to his aſſiſtance againſt Walſtein, who had entered Miſnia with all his forces. Though the king of Sweden did not approve of the elector's behaviour, he marched with his army to extricate him, leſt this prince ſhould be obliged to conclude a ſeparate peace with the emperor. He left ſome troops in Bavaria and Suabia, under the command of Chriſtian de Birckenfeld, count Palatine; while Guſtavus Horn remained in Alſace.

The king, upon his arrival at Nuremberg, received an account of the enemy's having withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Weiſſenfels, and that Pappenheim had been detached with ſome troops another way; in conſequence of this intelligence, he reſolved not to wait any longer for the duke of Lunenburg, but

* See the particulars of that memorable expedition in Harte's Life of Guſtavus Adolphus.

to give the enemy battle before they, on their ſide, could be joined by Pappenheim.

Battle of Lutzen, Nov. 26, 1632.

For this purpoſe he led his forces into the plain of Lutzen, and the conſequence was a moſt bloody action. The king commanded the right wing of his army; duke Bernard the left; and the count of Weiſſenburg the center. The right wing of the imperial army was entruſted to Colloredo; Walſtein commanded the main body; and the left wing was committed to general Holk, till Pappenheim arrived, who always made it a point to oppoſe Guſtavus. The Swediſh infantry attacked that of the imperialiſts with great fury, routed them, and took their cannon. But as the Swediſh cavalry could not get ſoon enough over a large ditch which interſected the plain, the king put himſelf at the head of the regiment of Smaland, and ordering them to follow him, leaped over the ditch, attended only by Francis duke of Saxe Lawenburg, and two valets. But when he had got thus far, he loſt his life before the regiment of Smaland could come up with him.

Death of Guſtavus Adolphus.

The manner of this hero's death is variouſly related: ſome writers have accuſed the duke of Saxe Lawenburg, his kinſman, his favourite, and a proteſtant, with having been guilty of aſſaſſinating him himſelf, or giving ſome mark to the imperialiſts, by which he might be ſingled out. Others have imputed his death to cardinal Richlieu, though his life was ſo neceſſary to that miniſter. But, is it not more natural to think, as an ingenious hiſtorian obſerves, that a king who expoſed himſelf as a common ſoldier, ſhould at laſt meet with a ſoldier's fate? The beſt atteſted account is, that having attacked a ſquadron of imperial cuiraſſiers, commanded by Picolomini, he received a piſtol ſhot in the arm, which ſhattered the bone; that he endeavoured to conceal the wound, leſt it ſhould alarm his men; that the pain growing too violent to be any longer endured, he turned about in order to retire, but an imperial cavalier having ſhot him in the back, he fell from his horſe. His few perſonal attendants ſtaid with him, but the troops which followed him were ſoon diſperſed. One of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who lay likewiſe

likewiſe on the ground, cried out aloud, in order to ſave his maſter's life, *I am the king of Sweden.* Upon which an imperial cuiraſſier, who had alighted to ſtrip the bodies, pierced him through with his ſword. Guſtavus afterwards being aſked who he was, replied boldly, that *he was the king of Sweden, and ſealed with his blood the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of Germany*; adding likewiſe, *Alas, my poor queen!* The imperialiſts gave him five dreadful and inhuman wounds; and though one ſhot him through the head, the expiring monarch had ſtrength to pronounce, *My God, my God!* Picolomini made an attempt to carry off his body, which was ſtripped in an inſtant; but Stalhaus, a Swediſh general, charged the imperialiſts with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to relinquiſh their prize.

THUS fell the godlike hero, Guſtavus Adolphus, the delight of his ſubjects, the terror of his enemies, and the admiration of Europe, in the flower of his years and in the midſt of his triumphs. He died aged 37 years, 10 months, and 27 days, having received thirteen wounds before he fought the battle of Lutzen. He finiſhed his courſe as an hero ought to do, *with his ſword in his hand, the word of command betwixt his lips, and victory in expectance*; concluding all with this pious ejaculation, *My God, my God!* *

THE news of Guſtavus's death, though it ſoon ſpread throughout his whole army, made no impreſſion on the ſoldiers, except that of rendering them more furious. They fell with ſuch impetuoſity on the imperialiſts, that they ſoon routed them on every ſide. It is true, the imperialiſts returned to the charge, on being joined by ſome freſh troops under count Pappenheim, whom Walſtein had recalled from Hall. But Pappenheim himſelf having received a mortal wound, † the imperialiſts again took to

* Harte, Mars Sueco—Germ. Relation de la Battaille de Lutzen, Barre.

† It is remarkable, that when Pappenheim was carried off the field of battle, he called to a particular officer, and ſaid: *Tell Walſtein, that what I have received, is enough for my purpoſe; but tell him too, that I have preſerved the catholic religion, and made the emperor a free man*; for he knew at that time that Guſtavus was dead. This brave and worthy commander had triumphed over his enemies in forty-four battles and rencounters. He expired ſoon after in a little mean apartment, in the caſtle of Pleiſſenberg, at Leipſick, which was ſhewn to the author of this hiſtory in 1745.

flight,

flight; and left the Swedes in poſſeſſion of the field of battle. This advantage, however, coſt them very dear; ſince they loſt their incomparable monarch. There fell on the ſpot, on both ſides, about 9000 men. The Swedes, notwithſtanding the great fatigue of this memorable day, did not give over the purſuit till night interpoſed, when ſome of the runaways got into Leipſick; the reſt eſcaped into Bohemia. Duke Bernard now took upon him the command of the army, and before the end of the year drove all the imperialiſts out of Saxony.

Death of Frederick the elector Palatine.

THE victories of Guſtavus had given ſome hopes to the unhappy elector Palatine. He left Holland, where he had reſided for ſome time paſt, and came to meet his deliverer at Mentz. Every thing ſeemed to promiſe him a ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment, when Guſtavus was killed. This new misfortune ſoon broke his heart, and he died the 16th of November. He was a prince of very fine parts, and born to make his ſubjects happy; but plunged both them and himſelf into an abyſs of miſery, through too great ambition. But if, on the one hand, this marriage of Frederick's proved ſuch a ſource of ſuffering to himſelf, it, on the other, raiſed his deſcendants to the higheſt pitch of power and glory. On the extinction of the proteſtant branch of the Stuarts, kings of England, in 1714, the parliament called to the throne the elector George Lewis of Brunſwick Hanover, ſon of Sophia, the only child of Frederick and Elizabeth's numerous iſſue, who had left any heirs of the proteſtant religion.*

State of affairs in Germany upon the death of Guſtavus.

THE death of the king of Sweden produced a great change in the affairs of Europe: for, though the imperialiſts had been defeated in this engagement, with the loſs of a great number of brave men, they comforted themſelves with the hopes that now the king was no more, the Swediſh forces would crumble away of themſelves: however, they made no ſmall preparation againſt the enſuing campaign. The proteſtants of Germany, on the contrary, ſplit into ſeveral factions, being quite at

* Puffendorf, Loccenius, Barre, Heiſſe, Harte, Khevenhuller, Bougeant, Beehr, Franck.

a loſs

a loſs what head to chuſe in the room of the incomparable Guſtavus.

THE Swedes, on the other hand, were thrown into the greateſt conſternation, by the ſudden death of their glorious monarch, eſpecially as the princeſs Chriſtina, his ſucceſſor, was but ſix years old. Nevertheleſs, after committing the adminiſtration of their domeſtic affairs to the firſt five officers of the crown, they conferred the direction of their concerns in Germany on Oxenſtiern, chancellor of the kingdom of Sweden, whom Guſtavus, before his death, had deputed to the circles of Upper Germany; and who received at Hanau the melancholy news of his maſter's death.

OXENSTIERN was not ſo much alarmed at the ſtrength of the enemy, as at the unanimity and zeal with which they all laboured for the common cauſe; whereas the Proteſtants were divided: beſides, there was no great probability of the electors and other princes of the empire, being willing to ſubmit to the direction of a foreign lord. It was ſome conſolation, however, to him and his country, that as Alexander had left behind him ſo many valiant captains, who founded kingdoms after his deceaſe, ſo Guſtavus bequeathed to mankind the Saxe Weymars, the Horns, the Baniers, the Torſtenſons, and Kniphauſens, all excellent commanders, formed in the ſchool of ſo able an inſtructor. He conſidered moreover, that there was no abandoning the conqueſts in Germany, without expoſing to inevitable ruin, the proteſtant cauſe, and the intereſts of his country; and that the more ſpirit and reſolution the proteſtants ſhewed, the more honourable terms they might expect to obtain.

THESE conſiderations he laid before the proteſtant ſtates, whoſe jealouſies and diſſenſions were very near completing their deſtruction. The elector of Saxony formed pretenſions to the ſupreme direction of affairs, as head of the alliance of Leipſick; and Oxenſtiern challenged it for himſelf as repreſentative of Sweden, in virtue of the treaty made with the late king. Each was about making a party; but Oxenſtiern was beforehand with the elector in engaging the ſtates of Upper and Lower

Treaty of Hailbrun in 1633.

1633. Saxony. He then held, at Hailbrun, a general aſſembly of the proteſtants of the circles of Suabia, Franconia, the Upper and Lower Rhine, in which the following articles were agreed upon. That the war ſhould be continued againſt the emperor, till the public liberty, and that of conſcience, throughout all the ſtates of Germany, was re-eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid footing; that Oxenſtiern ſhould be charged with the general direction of affairs; that an adequate ſatisfaction ſhould be made to the crown of Sweden; and nothing treated of but by unanimous conſent. Theſe conditions were ratified by ſeveral proteſtant ſtates of the other circles, the elector of Saxony alone proteſting againſt the authority conferred on the chancellor of Sweden. By another decree of the aſſembly of Hailbrun, the widow and children of the late elector Palatine, had reſtored to them all the Palatine territories; and were admitted to all deliberations, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the elector of Saxony, who was afraid leſt the proteſtant ſtates ſhould again chuſe the count Palatine for their head, on their not being able to get a king of Sweden to fill that high poſt. Oxenſtiern renewed with M. de Feuquieres the alliance between France and Sweden. The elector of Saxony and Brandenburg acceded to this alliance by ſeparate treaties; and the decrees of the congreſs of Hailbrun were confirmed in an aſſembly of the proteſtants, held at Francfort on the Maine.

Progreſs of the Swediſh arms.

OXENSTIERN, at the ſame time, neglected nothing to preſerve the Swediſh conqueſts: from the main army which was then at Miſnia, he detached 14000 men, under the command of George duke of Luenburg, to drive the imperialiſts out of Lower Saxony and Weſtphalia. Duke Bernard * marched with the reſt of the troops

* Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, was deſcended from the elector of Saxony, who had been degraded by the emperor Charles V. hence he bore an implacable hatred to the houſe of Auſtria. He was the youngeſt of eleven brothers, moſt of whom carried arms againſt the emperor. He firſt gave a proof of his military genius in 1631, at the affair of Werben, under Guſtavus Adolphus, where he had a horſe killed under him. The king, who had a very quick eye to diſtinguiſh merit, gave him orders immediately to raiſe three regiments, and march to the aſſiſtance of the landgrave. By his ſignal bravery, he gained the battle of Lutzen, after the death of Guſtavus, to

troops into Franconia, where he had orders to go and act in Oberland, in concert with Guſtavus Horn; while the old count Thurn was ſent to conduct the Swediſh affairs in Sileſia. The war was now carried on with pretty equal ſucceſs on both ſides. Towns were taken and loſt, and the people ruined by large contributions, few provinces of the empire being exempted from pillage and deſtruction. But the Swedes were particularly ſucceſsful in Lower Saxony, where George duke of Lunenburg undertook the ſiege of Hamelen; and hearing of the march of count Merode, the imperial general, turned the ſiege into a blockade, and went to meet him on the plain of Oldendorp. The two armies came to a battle on the 8th of July, when the Swedes obtained a complete victory. Count Merode died of his wounds, and the duke made himſelf maſter of Hamelen. Battle of Oldendorp. 1633.

BUT the Swedes were not ſo fortunate in Sileſia. Walſtein having retired to Prague after the fatal battle of Lutzen, recruited his army in Bohemia, and prepared for taking the field the enſuing campaign. His firſt expedition was into Sileſia, where he held a correſpondence with the Saxon generals, between whom and the Swedes there was not the leaſt harmony. He ſurpriſed the Swedes under count Thurn, near Steinau, and after diſperſing their cavalry, made moſt of their infantry priſoners. Availing himſelf of this advantage, and of the panic of the enemy, he marched along the Oder as far as Frankfort, and made himſelf maſter of that important fortreſs. Landſperg opened its gates to him, and the Swedes were in danger of being driven out of Pomerania, when the progreſs of duke Bernard on the Danube, where he had taken Ratiſbon, and ſome other towns, obliged the imperial general to draw near Bavaria. Battle of Steinau.

THOUGH the Swedes had no reaſon to complain of their want of ſucceſs any where but in Sileſia, the war, notwithſtanding, was become every day more burdenſome to them: beſides, moſt of

to whom he ſucceeded in command. His exploits upon the Rhine, and in Alſace, when acting in the ſervice of France, will immortalize his name.

the confederate ſtates were grown tired of military ravages; and many of them, eſpecially the elector of Saxony, wiſhed to be well rid of their Swediſh allies.

1634. DURING this uncertain fluctuation of things, happened the tragical fate of the celebrated Walſtein, who was aſſaſſinated at Egra in Bohemia, by the emperor's orders. This haughty general, accepting the command of the imperial army a ſecond time, had preſumed to treat with Ferdinand as his equal; and to preſcribe ſuch conditions to his ſovereign, as rendered him more abſolute in the army, than the emperor himſelf. Ferdinand was ſenſible of the too great power he had granted his general; but reaſons of ſtate made him overlook what he owed to his own dignity. Walſtein, forgetting all the favours he had received from his imperial majeſty, reſolved to prevent a ſecond diſgrace; and to revenge the affront that prince had given him, by diſmiſſing him from his ſervice. He ſeemed now to neglect all the advice that came from the court of Vienna; and, by ſeveral other ſteps, rendered himſelf, odious and ſuſpected to the emperor. Ferdinand ſtill ſuſpended the effects of his reſentment, when Walſtein's impetuous temper precipitated his own ruin. Being informed of the jealouſy and uneaſineſs of his imperial majeſty, he determined to ſupport himſelf in power, by throwing off his allegiance to Ferdinand, and by rendering the army which he commanded in Bohemia ſubſervient to his own grandeur; in ſhort, he was charged with negotiating with the proteſtant princes, and even with Sweden and France, in order to put the crown of Bohemia on his own head*. The better to ſecure the army in his intereſt, he prevailed with the principal officers to take and ſubſcribe a new oath, by which they engaged to defend his perſon, and follow his fortune. Some of the officers, however, only diſſembled their real ſentiments on the occaſion; and, among the reſt, Picolomini, who is ſaid to have been the firſt

General Walſtein aſſaſſinated at Egra.

* A full and ſatisfactory account of Walſtein's conſpiracy may be ſeen in Khevenhuller, whoſe hiſtory M. Voltaire does not ſeem to have read; when he ſays in his Annals of the Empire, *Mais ces intrigues, dont on l'accuſa, ne furent, jamais manifeſtées.*

that

that gave the emperor notice of Walſtein's deſigns. This laſt intelligence exhauſted Ferdinand's patience. He diveſted Walſtein, a ſecond time, of his commiſſion, and gave directions to Galas and Picolomini, then ſerving under him, to kill him. But they refuſed to have any hand in ſo unſoldier-like an action. The emperor, however, found other inſtruments to execute his vengeance. Walſtein was come to Egra in the Chriſtmas holidays, with 1634.
a deſign, as it is ſuppoſed, to join the enemy, who were approaching to receive him; when three foreign officers, in whom he had the greateſt confidence, prevented his treachery, by executing the emperor's orders. Theſe were colonel James Butler, John Gordon, governor of Egra, and Leſley, watch-maſter-general. Soon after Walſtein's arrival, theſe officers, having underſtood each other, determined to deſtroy their general without delay. It was firſt reſolved to poiſon him, or ſend him and his aſſociates priſoners to Vienna; but immediate death was at length conſidered as the more effectual method. Gordon was pitched upon to give a public ſupper in the caſtle; and Butler was deſired to invite Walſtein's four favourites to the entertainment: theſe were the colonels Tertzky, Illo, Kinſki, and his ſecretary, Nieman. After night fall, Gordon conveyed ſecretly into the caſtle, by a poſtern-gate, captain Walter Devoreux and Robert Geraldine, at the head of fifteen men. When ſupper was over, and healths were going about, two doors opened on either ſide of the room; and Devoreux and Geraldine entered, attended each by ſeven ſoldiers, with their ſwords drawn. The table was then overturned in a moment; Walſtein's four favourites were ſoon diſpatched. Devoreux then taking with him thirty freſh men, and ſnatching a partizan from one of the ſoldiers (for he had broken his ſword in the late ſcuffle) flew to the general's lodgings. He commanded his ſoldiers to burſt the door; and when they broke in, found the general ſtanding in his night-gown and ſhirt, near a table; and, what is very remarkable, he had neither ſword or piſtols with him, which ſhews he feared no deſign againſt his life. He truſted to human gratitude and promiſes, but found himſelf unhappily diſappointed. He had not even a cen-

tinel at the door of his lodgings, though, at all other times, he uſed to have a guard of one hundred men. Nay, what is more extraordinary, he had ſcarce a ſervant about his perſon.

Devoreux accoſted him abruptly, thus: "Are not you the "betrayer of the emperor and the empire?" To this Walſtein made no anſwer. Then Devoreux making him an offer of a few moments to ſay his prayers, the general extended his arms, and expoſed his naked breaſt; upon which, Devoreux, with his partizan, ran him through the heart. Walſtein ſpoke not one word during this whole ſcene, but expired with a terrible groan. Thus fell, by a death unworthy of ſo great a general, Walſtein, duke of Friedland, the only commander that had been found capable of ballancing the fortune of the great Guſtavus, and ſtemming the rapidity of his conqueſts. He was fifty years of age, tall of ſtature, of a ſlender make, his eyes bright and piercing, his complexion ſwarthy, his countenance, florid his hair ſhort, and of a reddiſh colour. His temper was rather moroſe, his converſation ſerious; he ſcarce ever laughed, but, either through pride or conſtitution, always affected ſolemn gravity. In ſhort, Walſtein was a compoſition of the great and the little; and theſe two words decide his character. To finiſh this picture of human vanity, his naked body, and the bodies of his four favourites, were carried in a dung-cart, with all manner of inſults, through the principal ſtreets of Egra, where he had the preceding day reigned as ſovereign; and then thrown into a ditch*.

The death of ſo great a general as Walſtein, gave new life and vigour to the Swedes, and raiſed their moſt ſanguine expectations. The emperor gave the command of his army to the king of Hungary, his ſon, who took Ratiſbon; and, after being joined by a body of Spaniſh troops, which were upon their march from Italy to the Low Countries, laid ſiege to Nordlingen.

1634. Battle of Nordlingen.

The Swediſh army, under the command of duke Bernard and Guſtavus Horn, marched to the relief of the place, and gave

* Heiſſe, Beehr, Franck, Harte, Khevenhuller.

battle

battle to the imperialiſts, though the latter were much ſuperior in number. This bold reſolution was attributed to duke Bernard, and was ſaid to have been contrary to the opinion of Horn. The battle was fought on the 17th of Auguſt, 1634. The Swedes at firſt had ſome advantage, but the left of their army having been thrown into diſorder by the Poliſh horſe, the Hungarians and Croats fell furiouſly on their infantry, already broken, and intirely routed them. Thus the imperialiſts gained a complete victory, with the loſs only of twelve hundred men. The Swedes loſt all their artillery and baggage, and eighteen thouſand men, twelve thouſand of whom were killed upon the ſpot, and ſix thouſand taken priſoners, among whom was general Horn. Duke Bernard with the ſhattered remains of the army retreated towards the Rhine, in order to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of France.

The elector of Saxony enters into a negotiation with the emperor.

THE imperialiſts, after this victory made themſelves maſters of all Upper Germany, and ſpread a general conſternation amongſt the confederates. The latter began to look upon the Swedes as the authors of their misfortunes, and expected every day to receive the ſevereſt laws from the victor. In this diſtreſſed ſituation they loſt all their courage, and ſeemed deſirous of coming to an accommodation with the emperor. The elector of Saxony had been long ſollicited by Spaniſh emiſſaries, and by his general Arnheim *, to be reconciled to Ferdinand; and

* After the battle of Leipſick, the emperor perceiving how ſtrong the proteſtants were, when united, and ſupported by a foreign prince of courage and abilities, uſed all his endeavours to diſſolve the confederacy, by making ſeparate overtures of peace to them. While the great Guſtavus was living all thoſe artifices were defeated; but after the death of that glorious monarch there had always been a clandeſtine negotiator at the court of Saxony. Such a one was general Arnheim himſelf, to whom all the imperial ſchemes were communicated, and he ſupported them to the utmoſt of his power. He had formerly been in the imperial ſervice, but left it on the account of religion, and entered into that of Saxony. He was certainly a good officer, a zealous proteſtant, but not the moſt profound politician. The imperial agents laid before him many ſpecious propoſals for the advantage of the Germanic body, of his maſter, and of the proteſtant religion, but nothing tending to the ſatisfaction of the crown of Sweden. This pleaſed him the more from a particular hatred he bore the Swedes, ſince the time of the Poliſh war, when king Guſtavus is ſaid to have treated him with ſome contempt. The elector agreeing in his ſentiments with Arnheim, was eaſily diſengaged from the Swediſh alliance. Dr. Hoe, the court chaplain, who had a great aſcendant

and being greatly diſſatisfied with the authority with which Oxenſtiern had been inveſted at the aſſembly of Hailbrun, he embraced this opportunity of entering into negotiations of peace with the court of Vienna. The preliminaries were ſigned at Pirna on the thirteenth of November, 1634, and the treaty of peace was concluded at Prague on the thirtieth of May the year
1635. following. To this peace all the other proteſtant princes were invited, and the elector particularly ſtipulated that the dukes of Mecklenburg, upon acceding to the treaty, ſhould be confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their dominions. The dukes thought it moſt prudent to follow the meaſures of Saxony, and, upon their reconciliation with the emperor, received from that prince an inſtrument for the ſecure and unmoleſted enjoyment of their territories. However, from a ſenſe of gratitude for the benefits they had received from the great Guſtavus, they would not enter into any offenſive meaſures againſt the Swedes, but ſtipulated for a neutrality. By this ſeparate peace the evangelic confederacy was diſſolved; and in return the elector of Saxony obtained the moſt advantageous terms for himſelf and family; as may be ſeen by the following extract.

Extract of the treaty of Prague.

By the treaty of Prague, the proteſtants were to remain in quiet poſſeſſion of the eccleſiaſtical benefices not immediately depending on the empire, which they had ſecularized before the affair of Paſſau, in 1552. As to the immediate benefices, and even thoſe that were not immediate, which they had ſeized only ſince that epocha, they were allowed to enjoy them forty years longer, on the ſame footing as in the year 1627. Auguſtus of Saxony, the elector's ſon, was to have the archbiſhoprick

aſcendant over the elector, is alſo accuſed of having received ten thouſand dollars of the imperial court for his good offices. Arnheim, upon ſome diſſatisfaction afterwards quitted the elector of Saxony's ſervice, and retired to his eſtate in Brandenburg, of which country he was a native. The Swediſh ambaſſador, by an order from the king, prevailed with the elector of Brandenburg to deliver him up, and he was ſent priſoner to Stockholm. The year following he contrived to make his eſcape on a public rejoicing, diſguiſed in the apparel of his footman, and got ſafe to Germany. He returned into the emperor's ſervice, and died a natural death in 1641. See Du Maurier and Mr. Harte.

of

of Magdeburg during life. Donawert was to be reſtored to its former freedom, as ſoon as the elector of Bavaria could be reimburſed the expences of the war. The dukes of Mecklenburg, likewiſe, were to be put in poſſeſſion of all their ſtates, rights, and prerogatives; but the children of the elector Palatine, with all thoſe who had had any ſhare in the troubles of Bohemia, were to remain for ever excluded from the general amneſty. The other points in diſpute were poſtponed to the next diet. In the mean time the empire was to raiſe troops, in order to drive the French and the Swedes out of Germany.

BESIDES this general treaty, there was a ſeparate one, by which the margravate of Luſatia, which the elector of Saxony had held as a mortgage for the laſt twelve years, was utterly ceded and relinquiſhed to him, to be held by himſelf and all his deſcendants male and female, as a fief dependent on the crown of Bohemia, to which, however, it was to revert on the entire extinction of the electoral houſe of Saxony.

ALL Germany was ſoon in an uproar againſt the articles of this treaty. They looked upon it as no better than a truce, made to give the emperor time to recover his ſtrength, which the Swedes had ſo much reduced. It ſet no bounds to the deſpotiſm of Ferdinand II. It left the Palatine family a perpetual victim to his ambition; and abandoned the proteſtant religion with all her chains upon her. Beſides, it was thought very odd, that the elector of Saxony ſhould take upon him, without conſulting his proteſtant brethren, to diſpoſe of their intereſts, of their allies, and of the whole empire. But abſtracting from the private motives which might have induced the elector's miniſters to make him conclude this peace, the prince himſelf ſeems to have had chiefly in view the glory of pacifying Germany, and putting an end to the diſtreſs under which ſhe was ready to ſink. Moreover, the authority arrogated by Oxenſtiern, in all the aſſemblies of the proteſtant ſtates, was incompatible with that of a director, an office which the electors of Saxony had formerly exerciſed on thoſe occaſions; and the duke of Weymar's being intruſted with the ſupreme command of all the Swediſh and Proteſtant forces cauſed

Conſequences of this treaty.

no ſmall uneaſineſs to the elector of Saxony, who juſtly apprehended that able general might employ the troops under him to reſtore his own family to the electorate.

BE that as it will, the fears of the proteſtant ſtates ſubſided by degrees; and all, except the landgrave of Heſſe, acceded, one after another, to the peace of Prague. That prince perſiſted in his attachment to the Swedes and French; and expoſed himſelf with them to all the hazards of war.

UPON the whole, it appeared ſomewhat hard that no greater regard was paid on this occaſion to the crown of Sweden, and to the memory of the great Guſtavus, to whom the proteſtant princes manifeſtly owed their liberty, their religion, and all that was dear to them. Had the treaty been negotiated in conjunction with Sweden, had that crown been compriſed in the negotiation with a decent reſpect to its intereſts, had it been invited to the conferences, had any indemnity or ſatisfaction been propoſed to the Swediſh nation; or even though the peace was concluded with the emperor, had not thoſe princes joined their arms with the catholics againſt their late deliverers, their pacific diſpoſition towards the court of Vienna would not have been ſo greatly condemned. The dukes of Mecklenburg, however, ſtood exculpated in their neutrality, and thus were perfectly innocent of the blood, which was afterwards ſhed; but the elector of Saxony had only himſelf to reproach, when, in conſequence of joining with the emperor againſt the Swedes, the flames of war continued to rage throughout Germany, and his country underwent the moſt dreadful ravages *.

* Khevenhuller, Barre, Puffendorff, Bougeant, Heiſſe, Pfeffel, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck.

CHAP. IX.

The SWEDISH WAR, from the TREATY of PRAGUE, in 1635, to the TREATY of WESTPHALIA, in 1648.

Affairs of Mecklenburg. Duke Adolph Frederick offers his mediation to the Saxons and Swedes. The French declare war againſt the emperor. Battle of Witſtock. Death of Ferdinand II. The war continued. Succeſs of the Swediſh arms. Duke Bernard's memorable campaign. Battle of Chemnitz. Death of duke Bernard. Banier's attempt upon the diet of Ratiſbon. Death of general Banier. Preliminaries of peace ſigned at Hamburg. Torſtenſon commands the Swediſh army. Battle of Leipſick. Rupture between Denmark and Sweden. Torſtenſon ordered to act againſt the Danes. Battle of Dutlingen. The imperialiſts join the Danes. Congreſs opened at Munſter. Torſtenſon marches into Bohemia. Battle of Jancowitz. Turenne defeated at Marenthal. Battle of Alterſheim. Torſtenſon reſigns the command to Wrangel, who joins Turenne, and marches into Bavaria. Battle of Summerhauſen. Konigſmarck takes the leſſer quarter of Prague. Hoſtilities ceaſe upon ſigning the peace of Weſtphalia. A ſummary view of the treaty of Weſtphalia.

Affairs of Mecklenburg.

THE ſeat of war had been for ſome time removed from the duchy of Mecklenburg. The immortal Guſtavus, having driven the imperialiſts out of the country, the two dukes were able to attend to the domeſtic concerns of the province, which, both in temporals and ſpirituals, were, in conſequence of the late revolution under Walſtein, fallen into great confuſion. On the ſeventh of December, 1632, the nobility and gentry renewed their homage to the dukes, and the former one made to Walſtein was again declared void. The diſorders occaſioned by the war appeared in nothing more than in the courts of juſtice at Sternberg, which were totally grown into diſuſe, but now, at the requeſt of the ſtates, were reſtored to

their former footing. All other grievances were redreſſed as near as poſſible, and every thing re-eſtabliſhed in its priſtine oeconomy. The ſee of Schwerin had ſuffered extremely ſince the death of Ulric II. the laſt adminiſtrator. Walſtein had lived there at diſcretion, and applied the revenue to his own private uſe; but Guſtavus Adolphus diſpoſſeſſed him of it, as well as of the whole duchy; and, after his death, queen Chriſtina, or rather chancellor Oxenſtiern, who, during the minority, governed every thing in Germany, conferred the eccleſiaſtical revenue, ſometimes on one general officer, ſometimes on another. At length duke Adolph Frederick obtained, in 1634, a ceſſion of the ſee to him in the queen's name; upon which he reſtored to the chapter of the cathedral the lands and eſtates which had been loſt in the war, on condition of being elected adminiſtrator, which was accordingly done in 1634. At the ſame time it was ſtipulated that they ſhould always chuſe for adminiſtrator the reigning duke of the line of Schwerin, and in caſe of its extinction, of that of Guſtrow.

Such were the internal regulations during that gleam of tranquillity: after the treaty of Prague, the country of Mecklenburg had no longer any concern in the war, and the dukes obſerved a ſtrict neutrality. But the war between the crown of Sweden, the emperor, and the elector of Saxony, continuing with various ſucceſs, the country thereby expoſed to the marches and countermarches of both armies; in conſequence of which the dukes judged it adviſeable to put the moſt important places in a ſtate of defence. As it highly concerned them to provide for the ſecurity of Roſtock, they firſt ſupplied it with a garriſon of Lunenburghers; but theſe being withdrawn, at the deſire of Sweden, they replaced them with a corps of their own troops. This precaution was very neceſſary; the Swedes ſhewing themſelves greatly diſſatisfied with the dukes for acceding to the treaty of Prague, and expreſſing a deſire to become maſters of Roſtock, as they were already of Wiſmar, Domitz, and Warnemunde. The town, ever jealous of its liberties with regard to the ſovereign, was not obliged to receive a garriſon; the

dukes therefore came to an agreement or capitulation with the magiſtrates, containing the regulations to be obſerved by the commandant relatively to the ſovereigns, and the city. They conferred the government on baron Kalucm, a nobleman of Weſtphalia, who had formerly been a colonel in the ſervice of Mecklenburg. He was an excellent ſoldier, an able ſtateſman, a zealous proteſtant, and loved his country. He had been raiſed to the rank of major-general in the Swediſh ſervice, and given ſufficient proofs of his courage, by the great ſervices rendered to the dukes in the recovery of their country, and to the Swedes in divers battles and ſieges. He had quitted the ſervice of the latter, on account of the jealouſy and ſuſpicion which they began to conceive of the German officers, many of whom followed his example: his poſt, as commandant of Roſtock, he diſcharged with ſuch vigilance and fidelity, that, during the remainder of the war, no attempt was made on that city; yet the poor country was greatly diſtreſſed by the belligerant parties. A detail of the progreſs of the war, which was carried on for ſome years longer with the utmoſt animoſity and fury, would carry us beyond the bounds of this work; we ſhall therefore engage in it no farther than is neceſſary to illuſtrate the affairs of Mecklenburg, and in ſome meaſure to ſerve as introductory to the knowledge of the treaty of Weſtphalia *.

1635. Effects of the treaty of Prague.

THE peace of Prague was productive of very different effects from what had been expected in Germany; for though the proteſtant princes were reconciled to the emperor, yet great part of their troops inliſted in the ſervice of Sweden. Still the affairs of that crown were in ſtrange confuſion. The imperialiſts, after the victory at Nordlingen had made themſelves maſters of all Upper Germany; the elector of Saxony had prevailed on the elector of Brandenburg to accede to the treaty of Prague; and the truce with Poland was almoſt expired. So many untoward circumſtances contributed not a little to make the Swedes wiſh devoutly for the return of peace; but as they could not obtain it in Germany, where the emperor and the elector of Saxony car-

* Beehr, Kluver, Franck, Buckholtz.

ried things with a very high hand, they were obliged to renew the truce with Poland for twenty-ſix years, and to yield her all Pruſſia. In conſequence of this treaty they withdrew their troops from that country, and collecting all their forces, ſcattered in different parts, they formed a very conſiderable army, under the command of general Banier. As their German allies had deſerted them, they found themſelves at liberty to act with more unanimity, though with leſs force than before, as it ſoon appeared by the event. The Saxons, after the treaty of Prague, extended themſelves to Domitz in the duchy of Mecklenburg; but a body of ſeven thouſand of their men, under general Baudis, were entirely defeated in the month of October by the Swediſh general Rudven. Banier, on the other hand, marched directly into Saxony, where the Swedes, in revenge for the elector's inconſtancy, ravaged the whole country without mercy. The elector having offered the Swedes an equivalent in money for the archbiſhoprick of Magdeburgh, which they refuſed, the two armies came to an engagement at Altemburg upon the Elbe, where the Saxons were entirely defeated, with the loſs of ſeven thouſand men. This ſucceſs gave great ſpirit to the Swedes, who ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the advantageous poſt of Malkim, and penetrated into the duchy of Mecklenburgh, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of Schwerin, out of reſentment for duke Adolph Frederick's having acceded to the treaty of Prague.

Battle of Altemberg.

1635. Duke Adolph Frederick offers his mediation to Sweden and Saxony.

As the country of Mecklenburg was again become the ſeat of war, duke Adolph Frederick propoſed his mediation between the elector of Saxony and the Swedes. With this view, he undertook ſeveral journies to Dreſden, and waited alſo on chancellor Oxenſtiern, with different propoſals for an accommodation; but all his negotiations proved ineffectual. The Saxons, notwithſtanding their late defeat, marched into Mecklenburg, where Banier attacked them a ſecond time, and gained a conſiderable victory, which obliged them to repaſs the Havel, and then he ſpread his army into the electorate of Brandenburg.

During

DURING the courſe of theſe operations, the French, in order to keep duke Bernard in their intereſt, ceded Alſace to that general, to be erected into a principality of the empire, for him and his deſcendants. They likewiſe granted him a conſiderable ſubſidy, and a reinforcement of their national troops. The treaty was concluded on the twenty-ſixth of October, and had been preceded by that of Compiegne, on the twenty-eighth of April, in which Oxenſtiern renewed the particular alliance between Sweden and France. The Spaniards, ſoon after, ſurpriſed the city of Triers, and made the elector priſoner, though he had put himſelf under the protection of France. This induced the French to declare war againſt Spain and the emperor, and, at length, openly to join the Swedes.

The French declare war againſt the emperor.

1635.

THIS year the king of Denmark offered his mediation between the emperor and Sweden; and the pope propoſed his alſo between the emperor and France. But the belligerant powers were too much exaſperated, and too ſanguine in their demands, to liſten to any terms of accommodation.

1636. Operations of the Swediſh and Saxon armies.

THE elector of Saxony had the good fortune to make himſelf maſter of Magdeburg on the 3d of July; and joining the imperial forces, purſued the Swedes into Pomerania. But, on the 4th of October, the two armies came to an engagement at Witſtock in Brandenburg, where Banier gained a complete victory over the combined army, killing 5000 on the ſpot, beſides 2000 that periſhed, or were taken in the flight. The Swedes improved this ſucceſs by driving the imperialiſts acroſs the landgravate of Heſſe, into Weſtphalia; they alſo retook Erfurt, and recovered ſufficient ſtrength to make a conſiderable progreſs in Upper Germany.

Battle of Witſtock.

MEAN while duke Bernard was not idle on the Rhine, but watched the motions of Galas, the imperial general, who had penetrated into Franche Comté, with an army of 6000 men. The duke harraſſed this army in ſuch a manner by marches, counter-marches, and ſkirmiſhes, that Galas was glad to repaſs the Rhine, after he had loſt near one half of his army.

Operations on the Rhine.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year an electoral diet was held at Ratiſbon, to debate on the means of concluding a general peace, and

Diet of Ratiſbon.

and of driving the French and Swedes out of the empire. At this assembly some members were for supporting the interests of the Palatine family; but the emperor contrived to elude all such proposals, and engaged the electors to chuse his son, Ferdinand III. king of the Romans.

Dec. 12. 1637. Death of Ferdinand II.

THE emperor Ferdinand II. did not survive his son's election above two months; he died at Vienna on the 25th of February, aged 59, after he had reigned 17 years, constantly engaged in war. Whatever his private virtues might have been, he was certainly a prince of a most arbitrary disposition, and a great bigot to his own persuasion; qualities which rendered him the declared enemy of the Germanic liberties, and of the protestant religion. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III. a prince endowed with milder principles, who seemed to aim at no illegal power, but fought only for an honourable peace. But animosities ran still so high, that this blessing could not be so soon obtained*.

The war continued.

THE death of Ferdinand II. made no alteration in the general state of affairs; the war continued in every quarter with the same animosity and vigour. The Swedes, in the course of the year, gained the advantage in several rencounters with the imperialists and Saxons. General Banier dispersed eight Saxon regiments near Edlenburg, and soon after routed 2000 men in the neighbourhood of Pegau. Flushed with this success, he laid siege to Leipsick; but hearing that Galas, the imperial general, was marching with a much superior army to the relief of that city, he thought proper to retire to Torgau, where he was hemmed in by the imperial army. He had the good fortune, however, to slip out of their hands, and retreated to Newstat, where he was joined by a strong reinforcement under general Wrangel. The imperialists and Saxons closely pursued him, and part of their army marched into Mecklenburg; on this occasion Domitz was taken by the Saxon general Klitzing, and the imperialists blockaded Wismar, though without success. These military operations again reduced the country of Mecklenburg to inexpressible distress, and the impe-

* Heisse, Puffendorff, Barre, Bougeant, Beehr, Franck.

rialists

rialiſts diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the enormity of their outrages. Banier, notwithſtanding his junction with Wrangel, did not think proper to engage the imperial army, but ſtill kept retiring farther into Pomerania; and even ſent part of his troops into the iſle of Woolin, from whence it was imagined they would be tranſported to Sweden. But this was only a feint; he had reſigned an exhauſted country to the imperialiſts; and winter coming on, what with the ſeverity of the weather, ſickneſs, deſertion, and want of proviſions, Galas found his troops ſo reduced, that he was obliged to withdraw early the next year into Bohemia, in order to recruit his army. Banier then took the field, and recovered Gartz, Wolgaſt, Dam, and ſeveral other places in that province.

Death of the duke of Pomerania.

THE ſame year died Bogiſlaus XIV, the laſt duke of Pomerania. The ſucceſſion of right belonged to the elector of Brandenburg; but the Swedes being in poſſeſſion of that country, reſolved to keep it, alledging the right of war, and the treaty of Stettin in 1630.

1638.

GEORGE duke of Lunenburg had by this time likewiſe declared in favour of the emperor. The Swedes having conceived a violent jealouſy againſt the elector of Brandenburg, in conſequence of the pretenſions he had to Pomerania, on the death of Bogiſlaus XIV. reſolved to oppoſe him; and, to ſtrengthen their cauſe, they renewed their alliance with France this year at Hamburg.

The Swediſh alliance with France renewed.

Succeſs of the Swediſh arms.

THE Swedes, who had been rather unfortunate the preceding year, began, as ſoon as they had recruited their army, to recover what they had loſt. Banier obliged general Galas to retire into the emperor's hereditary dominions; and Bernard, duke of Weymar, was no leſs ſucceſsful on the Rhine.

Duke Bernard's memorable campaign.

THIS great general's campaign in 1638 is one of the moſt memorable in hiſtory. He fought nine pitched battles, and loſt only the firſt. He had opened the campaign with the ſiege of Rheinfelden; upon which John de Werth, the imperial general, flew to the relief of the place, attacked the duke in his lines, and defeated him on the twenty-ſecond of February. Five days after,

after, the duke of Weymar, by a happy temerity, ſurpriſed the victorious army, cut it in pieces, and took the general, John de Werth, priſoner. Rheinfelden then ſurrendered; Friburg followed its example, and the duke formed the blockade of Briſac. On the 9th of Auguſt he fought the battle of Wittenweyer, where the Bavarians were diſcomfited. Then followed the engagements of Benfeld, Friſenheim, Thann, and Saint Peter near Friburg, between duke Bernard and the imperial generals, who wanted to raiſe the ſiege of Briſac, and whom he vanquiſhed. They attacked the duke again in his lines, and were twice repulſed with loſs; ſo that Briſac was obliged to capitulate on the nineteenth of December. After this, the duke of Weymar took up his winter-quarters in Franche Compté.

CHARLES LEWIS, eldeſt ſon of Frederick elector Palatine, did not meet with ſuch good ſucceſs in his Weſtphalian expedition. This young prince, ambitious of owing his reſtoration to his ſword, had collected a ſmall army, under the conduct of general King, with which he took the field, and attacked the town of Meppen: but he was ſoon defeated by the imperial general Hatzfeld; his brother, prince Rupert, and general King, were taken priſoners; and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped, after loſing all his baggage and cannon.

THE ſame year there were conferences for a peace between the vice-chancellor, the count de Curtz, the count d'Avaux, and Adler Salvius. But the negotiations proved ineffectual. The miniſters only debated about the place of a general congreſs, and the form of the paſſports.

1639. WHEN the imperialiſts had been thus entirely defeated in the countries bordering on the Rhine, and in Lower Saxony, duke Bernard and Banier agreed to fall together on the emperor's hereditary dominions. Banier and Torſtenſon penetrated into Miſnia, and ravaged the whole country, after totally defeating the imperialiſts and Saxons at the battle of Chemnitz. From thence they marched into Bohemia, and twice appeared before Prague; then turning into Sileſia, they ſpread terror and deſolation through every quarter. In all probability, they would have gained more ſolid advantages in that country, if the ſudden

Plan of Banier and duke Bernard.

Battle of Chemnitz.

ſudden death of the duke of Weymar, which happened at Neuburg on the Rhine, on the eighteenth of July, broken all their meaſures. The duke was upon the point of executing his grand project, which conſiſted in forming a third party in Germany, and eſtabliſhing a ſovereignty along the Rhine, of which Briſac was to be the capital. He then propoſed to drive the French and Swedes out of Germany, to unite the proteſtant forces againſt the emperor, and to oblige him, ſword in hand, to grant a durable peace to the empire. Death interrupted his projects at the critical minute; and as the French ſtrongly ſolicited the duke to deliver up Briſac into their poſſeſſion, which he peremptorily refuſed, the enemies of France gave out that he died by poiſon. But there are men who always attribute the death of great perſons to ſome ſecret cauſe; and others who inſiſt on ſuch an event being preceded by an unlucky omen. The former judge from exceſs of malignity, the latter from a ridiculous ſuperſtition. The duke's army joined the French, a ſum of money for that purpoſe having been diſtributed by cardinal Richlieu among the general officers. Banier, diſappointed in his ſcheme, made the beſt of his way towards Miſnia and Thuringia.

Death of duke Bernard.

AFTER the duke of Weymar's death, the duke de Lougueville was placed at the head of the army, and being arrived in the neighbourhood of Erfurt, in order to join general Banier, as likewiſe the Heſſian and Lunenburg * troops, would have gladly engaged the imperialiſts; but he could never get them out of their entrenchments: hence the greateſt part of the campaign was ſpent on both ſides in marches and countermarches.

1640. The duke de Longueville joins Banier.

A DIET was opened at Ratiſbon, on the third of September. They deliberated on the means of continuing the war, in order to obtain an honourable peace, but came to no concluſion. They ſettled however the long diſputed point of precedency between the houſes of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Wirtemberg, and Heſſe; and as it was agreed they ſhould precede alternately, they were hence called *Alternative Houſes*.

Diet of Ratiſbon.

* The Swedes this year had drawn duke George, of Lunenburg, over to their intereſt.

1641. Banier's attempt upon Ratiſbon.

EARLY in the beginning of the year 1641, Banier was on the point of ſurpriſing Ratiſbon, where the emperor and the ſtates of Germany were aſſembled. But the floating of the ice in the Danube, in conſequence of a great and ſudden thaw, prevented his throwing a bridge of boats a-croſs it. Upon this, not to loſe time, he reſolved to try his fortune in Moravia, Sileſia, and Bohemia.

His unſucceſsful expedition to Bohemia.

THIS proved a very unſucceſsful expedition. For the troops, which had been under the duke of Weymar, and were now commanded by French officers, having deſerted him, the imperialiſts preſſed him ſo cloſe, that he was obliged to retreat through the woods of Bohemia, with ſuch precipitation, that he was forced to leave behind him, at Neuburg, three regiments of cavalry, under colonel Slang, who, after a vigorous defence, were all made priſoners. But Slang's bravery, on this occaſion, in all probability, ſaved the body of the Swediſh army from being cut to pieces. Theſe regiments retarded the imperialiſts in their march; the Swedes reached the paſs of Preitznitz only half an hour before them, and thereby put a ſtop to the purſuit. Banier died ſoon after, at Halberſtat *, May the tenth; and his death proved a ſource of great diſcontent in his army.

Death of general Banier.

THE death of this able general had been preceded by that of duke George of Lunenburg; the loſs of theſe two chiefs ſtopped the operations of the Swedes, and gave the Saxons and imperialiſts an opportunity to chaſe them out of Miſnia and Luſatia; but they ſtill maintained their ground in Pomerania and Lower Saxony. The French, Heſſian, and Brunſwick troops laid ſiege to Wolfenbuttle, and on the twenty-ninth of June defeated the imperial army, that came to relieve the place. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, Auguſtus, of Brunſwick, raiſed the ſiege, and concluded a ſeparate peace with the emperor.

* This great general is ſuſpected to have died of poiſon, having a little before been at a ſplendid banquet at Hildeſheim, which proved fatal to ſeveral officers: but ſuſpicion of poiſon was a very common thing at that time; and many have been ſuppoſed to be poiſoned at a ſplendid banquet.

THE

THE belligerant powers being almoſt exhauſted with this deſtructive war, the following miniſters, the count d'Avaux, Lutzow, and Salvius, ſigned at Hamburg, on the twenty-fifth of December, the preliminaries of a peace, whereby the city of Munſter was pitched upon for negotiating the treaty between France and the empire, and that of Oſnabrug for the conferences with the Swediſh ambaſſadors. It was ſettled that all the allies of the two crowns ſhould ſend their deputies to thoſe conferences, and that whatever was agreed upon, in one of thoſe two towns, ſhould be deemed to have been determined by the other.

Preliminaries of a peace ſigned at Hamburg.

THE Swediſh general Torſtenſon was ſent to take upon him the command of the army, after the death of Banier. Immediately upon his arrival, he marched his troops into Sileſia, where he took great Glogau ſword in hand, and reduced ſeveral other places, the principal of which was Schweidnitz. Francis, duke of Saxe Lawemburg, having attempted to make him raiſe the ſiege, a battle enſued, in which the imperialiſts were defeated, and the duke loſt his life.

1642. Torſtenſon commands the Swediſh army.

TORSTENSON, after this victory, ſat down before Brieg; but the imperialiſts being ſtronger than him, notwithſtanding their late loſs, obliged him to raiſe the ſiege; and likewiſe hindered him from entering Bohemia. Upon this, he took his route along the Elbe; and, after paſſing it at Torgau, proceeded to lay ſiege to Leipſick.

Torſtenſon lays ſiege to Leipſick.

THE archduke of Auſtria, and Picolomini, joint generals of the imperial army, with all their forces, marched to relieve the place. The conſequence was a bloody battle, which was fought in the plains near Breitenfeld, where Guſtavus Adolphus had formerly gained ſo glorious a victory; and here Torſtenſon celebrated, as it were, that great prince's obſequies. Both the left of the imperialiſts and that of the Swedes were broken on the occaſion. But the Swedes, rallying, attacked the right of the imperialiſts in flank, and entirely routed them. The latter had five thouſand men killed, and four thouſand five hundred men taken priſoners. The

Torſtenſon gains the battle of Leipſick.

former loſt but two thouſand men, beſides their wounded, who were pretty numerous. Leipſick ſurrendered ſoon after.

Obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Freyberg.

TORTENSON now haſtened to beſiege Freyberg; but the place defended itſelf ſo well, that, after loſing fifteen hundred men before it, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege at the approach of Picolomini, general of the imperial forces. On the other hand, the duke of Weymar's army, now commanded by Guebriant, a French general, was totally ruined by the Bavarians.

1643. Rupture between Denmark and Sweden.

IN the mean time, the Swedes having intelligence of the negotiations of the count d'Averſperg, the imperial miniſter at the court of Copenhagen, for concluding a treaty of alliance between the two crowns, Torſtenſon was ordered to march his army into Holſtein, with a view to prevent the effects of thoſe negotiations. The Swedes had beſides other reaſons for quarreling with the Danes, who had taken ſeveral ſteps to their prejudice, and, from a principle of jealouſy, endeavoured to deprive them of the advantages, which, by the ſucceſs of their arms, they had gained in Germany. Not to mention their affronting the crown of Sweden by facilitating the elopement of the queen dowager, Mary Eleonora, who was conveyed to Denmark by a ſquadron of that nation, they had lately eſtabliſhed new duties at Ruden, and endeavoured to cramp the Swediſh commerce, by the toll which they exacted of the veſſels of that nation paſſing the Sound. All Europe, however, was ſurpriſed at this irruption, and ſeveral looked upon it as the greateſt temerity. They could not conceive how the Swediſh crown, already engaged with ſo potent an enemy, could venture to embark in another war againſt the king of Denmark. But the magnanimity of the Swediſh nation was ſuperior to all danger. Torſtenſon proceeded with ſuch ſecrecy to the execution of his deſign, that he ſoon made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of Holſtein, with very little trouble or loſs, as the Danes had made no preparations to oppoſe him. He likewiſe defeated their troops in Jutland and Schonen: their fleet was at the ſame time deſtroyed, and the Swedes poſſeſſed themſelves of Bremen, and the iſland of Bornholm. The Danes were at

Torſtenſon ordered to act againſt the Danes.

length obliged to agree to a peace, at Bromſebroo, in 1645, on very diſadvantageous terms. Denmark, by this treaty, ceded to Sweden Jempterland and Horndale, with the iſlands of Gothland and Oezel; and made her ſeveral other advantageous conceſſions.

TORSTENSON, in the mean time, had reſigned the command of the Swediſh troops in Germany to general Konigſmarck, who made himſelf maſter of Halberſtat, and ravaged the territories of the elector of Saxony. The French, about the ſame time, took the town of Rothweil, where marſhal Guebriant was mortally wounded. But diſſenſions ariſing between the chief officers of the French and German troops, the imperialiſts, under general Mercy, availed themſelves of that opportunity, and entirely demoliſhed that army, ſo famous for its victories, at the battle of Dutlingen, on the twenty-ſixth of November. By this reverſe of fortune the French were diſpoſſeſſed of all their conqueſts in Suabia. The ſame year the Swedes renewed their alliance with France, in which Ragotzky, prince of Tranſylvania, was included.

Battle of Dutlingen.

DURING theſe tranſactions Konigſmarck had ſome difficulty to maintain his ground in Saxony; whilſt the imperialiſts joined the Danes, and attempted to obſtruct Torſtenſon's return from Jutland. Count Galas had followed the Swediſh general as far as Holſtein; and in his march greatly oppreſſed the duchy of Mecklenburg, yet could not hinder the Swediſh governor at Wiſmar from taking Domitz. Torſtenſon now offered battle to Galas, who declined it, and thought proper to retire; upon which the Swedes drove the imperialiſts back through Mecklenburg, and returned to Saxony, where they continued to ravage the diſtrict of Miſnia. The Bavarians made themſelves maſters of Friburg on the twenty-eighth of July. But the duke d'Enguien came to the aſſiſtance of Turenne, and attacked the Bavarians, entrenched near Friburg, in three different engagements on the third, fifth, and ninth of Auguſt, where Mercy and the Bavarians were defeated. The French then made themſelves maſters of both banks of the Rhine down below Mentz.

1644. The imperialiſts join the Danes againſt Torſtenſon.

Battle of Friburg.

THE

Congreſs of peace opened at Munſter.

THE congreſs of peace was at length opened, after the miniſters had exchanged their full powers on the firſt of December. The firſt propoſals were made at Munſter on the fourth of December, under the mediation of the republic of Venice; and on the ſame month at Oſnabrug. The Swedes would admit of no mediators.

1645. Torſtenſon marches into the emperor's hereditary dominions. Battle of Jancowitz.

TORSTENSON, being now convinced that the only way of obliging the emperor to agree to a peace, was to carry the war into his hereditary dominions, led his troops early this year into Bohemia. The imperialiſts marched to meet him, and an engagement enſued at Jancowitz, on the ſixth of March, where the Swediſh general gained a complete victory. The imperialiſts are ſaid to have loſt eight thouſand men, half of them killed on the ſpot; general Goetz was among the ſlain, and general Hatzfield taken priſoner. The emperor retired from Prague, as far as Gratz in Stiria. Torſtenſon, without ſtoping to lay ſiege to towns, croſſed Bohemia and Moravia, and penetrated into Auſtria, where he was joined by the troops under Ragotſki; and might, in conſequence of that junction, have made a great progreſs. But Ragotſki, having received ſatisfaction from the emperor, ſeparated from the Swedes, and returned home with his troops. On the other hand, the French commanded by the vicomte de Turenne, were defeated, on the fifth of May, at Marienthal, by general Mercy. Theſe diſappointments obliged Torſtenſon to march back into Bohemia, where he put his army into winter quarters on the banks of the river Eger.

Tortenſton is obliged to retreat.

HERE it may be obſerved, that moſt of theſe expeditions of the Swedes, as well as thoſe of the French, were little more than the excurſions of irregulars, which do a great deal of miſchief to the poor inhabitants, without being of much ſervice to their reſpective ſovereigns. Had the war been conducted on a ſettled plan, under one chief, like the great Guſtavus, ſteadily adhering to the main deſign, the emperor would have been puſhed to extremity. But notwithſtanding this tide of proſperity in favour of the French and Swediſh arms, there muſt have been ſome radical defect which hindered them from reaping the fruit of their victories.

Theſe advantages, were no way deciſive; Auſtria was yet untouched, and the emperor, like a hydra, ſtill faced the enemy with new forces. So many enterprizes of the allied crowns ſeem to have been above their ſtrength, and while they made a vigorous attack on one ſide, on the other they expoſed their weakneſs. They were likwiſe jealous of each other, France particularly, not caring that Sweden ſhould gain ſuch a ſuperiority as to be independant of her aſſiſtance; this, together with their want of money and recruits, ſet bounds to their ſucceſſes *.

In the mean time Konigſmarck, continuing to ravage Miſnia, the elector of Saxony, afflicted at the miſeries of his ſubjects, ſigned a truce of ſix months with the Swedes, whereby he left them in poſſeſſion of the town of Leipſick, and agreed to pay them ſome monthly contributions. This truce was ſucceſſively prolonged to the general peace, and preſerved Saxony from total deſtruction. Truce between Saxony and Sweden.

After the defeat at Marienthal, the duke d'Enghien flew to the aſſiſtance of Turenne, which brought on the battle of Allerſheim, in the neighbourhood of Nordlingen, on the fourth of Auguſt. The Bavarians, who had incloſed Turenne, loſt the field of battle, together with their general; and the French opened to themſelves a retreat towards the Rhine. Battle of Allerſheim.

Soon after Torſtenſon, ſatiated with glory, and quite diſabled by the gout, thought proper to retire, and reſigned the command of the Swediſh army to general Wrangel, who maintained all the reputation of the Swediſh arms till the peace in 1648. Finding the enemy too ſtrong towards Bohemia, he fell back into Miſnia, and from thence directed his march towards the Weſer. Near Gieſſen he was joined by Turenne, and they both agreed to penetrate into Bavaria, with a view of obliging the elector to renounce the emperor's alliance. But this prince managed ſo well as to gain over Anne of Auſtria, regent of France, by propoſing a treaty of neutrality, and Turenne was recalled. This ſeparation obliged Wrangel to retire; and the elector, after the danger was over, renewed his old connexions with the emperor. 1646. Torſtenſon reſigns the command of the army to Wrangel.

* Volt. Ann. de l'Empire, Puffendorff.

During

Conferences continued at Munſter.

DURING theſe military operations, the conferences for concluding a peace were ſtill carried on with great aſſiduity. The chief miniſters appointed by the emperor to treat with Sweden, were count Trautmanſdorff, count Lamberg, and counſellor Crane; and to negotiate with France the ſame count Trautſmandorf, count Naſſau Haadmar, and counſellor Wolmar. The French ambaſſadors were the duke de Longueville, count d'Avaux, and M. de Servien. The Swediſh plenipotentiaries were the chancellor John Oxenſtiern, and the court chancellor Adler Salvius. Contarini, the Venetian ambaſſador, acted as mediator between the emperor and France.

Plenipotentiaries.

1647. Treaty of neutrality between Sweden and Bavaria.

EARLY this year, (March fourth) general Wrangel, contrary to his own inclination, and merely at the ſollicitation of the French, who wanted to detach the elector of Bavaria from the emperor, concluded at Ulm a neutrality between France and Sweden, and the electors of Bavaria and Cologn. In conſequence of this treaty, the Swedes reſtored to the duke of Bavaria the ſeveral places and towns of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves in his dominions. Wrangel then marched into Bohemia, and laid ſiege to Egra, which was obliged to ſurrender. The emperor Ferdinand III. alarmed at this intelligence, put himſelf at the head of his army, and drew near to the enemy. A Swediſh party broke into the imperial camp, and penetrating as far as Ferdinand's tent, would have taken that prince himſelf priſoner, if Wrangel had been able to come up time enough with the reſt of his army. At the end of a few months, the elector of Bavaria, at the inſtigation of the emperor, broke the late treaty of neutrality with the Swedes, and being no longer apprehenſive of the neighbourhood of the allied armies, joined his forces to thoſe of the emperor; upon which Wrangel, finding himſelf greatly inferior to the enemy, was obliged to retreat into Saxony.

Violated by the elector, who again joins the emperor.

Conferences at Munſter continued.

THE conferences at Munſter and Oſnabrug were ſtill going on, though but very ſlowly; and, indeed, it could not well be otherwiſe, conſidering how diametrically oppoſite the claims of the ſeveral contending parties were to each other. The apprehenſions of the proteſtants were to be reconciled with the zeal

zeal of the catholics; and the deſpotiſm of the emperor, with the independency of the ſtates of Germany. All were for obtaining advantages, none were willing to make conceſſions. What a vaſt field for the negotiating miniſters! On the other hand, the war which ſtill raged without any deciſive loſs or advantage on either ſide, did not a little contribute to impede the deliberations. The leaſt check which the emperor's troops happened to give the Swedes, was ſure to make their maſter raiſe his voice; and the haughtineſs of Oxenſtiern encreaſed with every ſucceſs of Wrangel. Nor were theſe the only obſtacles in the way of peace. The emperor's miniſters had been gratified with no inconſiderable ſhare of the rich confiſcations made under the decrees of Ferdinand II. and as theſe were to be reſtored in caſe of a peace, it was thought that the private intereſts of the preſent poſſeſſors rendered them leſs ſenſible to the general intereſt of their country.

1648. Wrangle and Turenne march into Bavaria.

WRANGEL took the field early this year, and penetrating into Suabia, joined the French army under Turenne, in the neighbourhood of Winſheim. They then agreed to direct their march into Bavaria, in order to puniſh the elector for the infraction of the treaty of neutrality. They paſſed the Danube at Lawingen, where having had intelligence that a part of the imperial army, detached from the Bavarians, was marching towards Augſburg, they attacked them ſo vigorouſly in the neighbourhood of Summerhauſen, on the ninth of May, as to obtain a complete victory. The imperialiſts loſt four thouſand men, together with their general Melander, and all their baggage. The allies then made themſelves maſters of Donawert, and ravaged all Bavaria, to the banks of the Inn. To repair this loſs the emperor gave the command of his army to Picolomini, who drew what forces he could out of Bohemia, and other places, and went to join the Bavarians.

B ttle of Summerhauſen.

Konigſmarck ſurpriſes the leſſer quarter of Prague; and lays ſiege to the others.

IN the mean time Konigſmarck, who had ſeparated from Wrangel with a ſmall detachment, in order to make a diverſion in Bohemia, in conjunction with the Swediſh general Wittemberg, arrived before Prague, and by the treachery of an imperial

officer, named Odowaltzkry, ſurpriſed the leſſer quarter of Prague, called the Little Town, which contained the emperor's palace, and thoſe of the principal lords of the country. The booty which the Swedes took on this occaſion was immenſe; the ſhare only that fell to the queen of Sweden, was reckoned to be near ſeven millions of crowns. Charles Guſtavus, count Palatine of Deux Ponts, being appointed generaliſſimo of the Swediſh army, arrived before Prague at this juncture, and attacked the Old Town; but the burghers and ſcholars made ſo obſtinate a defence, that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. He then put his troops into quarters of refreſhment, and while Wrangel was marching into the Upper Palatinate, in order to join him, news was brought of the ſigning of the peace of Weſtphalia*: thus, as it has been obſerved by moſt hiſtorians, this deſtructive war, which began at Prague, ended at the expiration of thirty years on the very ſame ſpot, and with the plundering of that opulent city.

The Swedes put an end to hoſtilities upon receiving advice of the treaty of Weſtphalia.

It was indeed high time for the belligerant powers to terminate this deſtructive war, which had ſo long deſolated great part of Europe. Had this dreadful ſcourge continued to rage any longer, Germany muſt have been reduced to a ſolitary waſte. The marches and military executions, with all ſorts of ravages of the Swedes, Saxons, French, and imperialiſts, had almoſt depopulated the whole country. In the county of Ruppin, ſcarce four villages remained, all the others lay in aſhes; and the like calamities were viſible in other parts, eſpecially in Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, where to this day are to be ſeen many burnt villages and ruined churches, ſad veſtiges of that long and barbarous war. It had been upwards of ſeven years ſince the ſeveral princes put the firſt hand to this great and important treaty; and it had been near five years ſince the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, France, Sweden, and of all the princes and ſtates of the empire, had been aſſembled at Munſter and Oſnabrug, to regulate and adjuſt

* Puffendorf, Bougeant, Heiſſe, Biſaccioni, Pfeffel, Barre, Beehr, Franck, Kluver, Buckholtz.

the

the pretenſions and claims of ſo many jarring parties. At length the endeavours of the able negotiators were crowned with ſucceſs; and though they carried on their conferences in two different cities, namely, Munſter and Oſnabrug*, the negotiations terminated almoſt at the ſame time in both places by two treaties, which were ſigned afterwards at Munſter on the twenty-fourth of October. One part of the ceremony was performed at the hotel of the imperial ambaſſador, and the others at the hotels of the French and Swediſh miniſters, for what related to thoſe three crowns only; after which, the two treaties were carried to the epiſcopal palace, in order to be ſigned by the deputies of the electors, princes, and ſtates of the empire, who were there aſſembled, and expreſſed their eagerneſs to confirm an inſtrument of ſuch great importance to the welfare and happineſs of Europe. On both ſides, it was agreed, that upon ſigning the treaty, notice ſhould be immediately given to the reſpective generals of the armies, in order to ſheath their ſwords, and put an end to all manner of hoſtilities.

Abſtract of the Treaty of Weſtphalia.

IT is proper we ſhould give a ſhort abſtract of thoſe two treaties, ſince they, at this day, conſtitute the political code, and the firſt of the fundamental laws of the German empire. They turn partly on the *indemnifications granted to the contending powers*; and, partly, on the *public ſtate of the religion and government of Germany*.

As to the firſt, the following is the ſubſtance of them.

FRANCE had the ſovereignty of the three biſhopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and the town of Pignerol, ceded by the peace of Queraſque; the town of Briſac and its dependencies; the Sund-

* The ambaſſadors of the emperor, France, Spain, Holland, and moſt of the Roman catholic powers, carried on the negotiations at Munſter; the emperor's other ambaſſadors, and thoſe of the proteſtant princes, negotiated at Oſnabrug, where the peace between the emperor, Sweden, and the proteſtants, was concluded on the ſixth of Auguſt. The peace between Spain and the United Provinces had been ſigned at Munſter, on the thirtieth of January.

gaw, and the landgraviates of High and Low Alſace. The Sundgaw and theſe landgraviates were ceded on the ſame footing, on which they had been held by the empire and the houſe of Auſtria, with a reſervation, in favour of the ſtates of theſe provinces, hitherto immediate ſtates of the empire, of *all the private rights and privileges compatible with the ſovereignty of his moſt chriſtian majeſty*. In fine, the right of having a garriſon in the fortreſs of Philipſburg.

SWEDEN had, for her ſhare, beſides five millions of crowns, in ready money, the archbiſhoprick of Bremen, ſecularized; the biſhoprick of Verden made a ſecular principality; Pomerania Citerior, Stettin, the iſland of Rugen, and the town of Wiſmar in Mecklenburg; the whole to be held as a fief of the empire; and, moreover, three voices in the diet for Bremen, Verden, and Pomerania.

THE elector of Brandenburg was indemnified for the loſs of Pomerania Citerior by the archbiſhoprick of Magdeburg, ſecularized; the biſhopricks of Halberſtadt, Minden and Camin, declared ſecular principalities; and four ſuffrages or votes in the diet.

THE dukes of Mecklenburg had in exchange for Wiſmar the biſhopricks of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, erected into ſecular principalities; with two voices in the diet; and, moreover, two conſiderable commanderies of the order of St. John, Mirow and Nemerow.

THE dukes of Brunſwick-Lunenburg Hanover; and, in caſe of their family's becoming extinct, thoſe of Wolfenbuttle had the provoſtſhip of Walckenried; and a perpetual alternative in the biſhoprick of Oſnabrug, ſo that a proteſtant biſhop, of the houſe of Hanover, was always to ſucceed a catholic one elected by the chapter.

THE Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel acquired, beſides ſix hundred thouſand crowns in ſpecie, the greateſt part of the country of Schaumburg; and the abbey of Hirchfeld declared a ſecular principality, with a ſuffrage in the diet.

THE

THE elector Palatine had reſtored to him the Lower Palatinate, and all his other lands and rights, except the Upper Palatinate, which was left to Bavaria, and the Bergſtraſſe, which the elector of Mentz was permitted to retain on returning the ſums for which it had been mortgaged. Moreover he had created in his favour, an eighth electoral dignity, to be held by his family, ſo long as the ducal and electoral houſe of Bavaria ſhould have iſſue male; and to be ſuppreſſed, whenever either of theſe houſes ſhall happen to become extinct.

SWITZERLAND was declared a free, ſovereign republic, independant of the empire.

ALL the other princes and ſtates of the empire had purely and ſimply reſtored to them all their lands, rights, and prerogatives which they had enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia in the year 1619.

The following diſpoſitions were made with regard to the public exerciſe of religion.

THE tranſactions of Paſſaw in 1552, and the religious peace of 1555, were confirmed in their whole extent.

THE Calviniſts, for the future, were to enjoy all the priviledges granted the Lutherans.

RELIGION, in general, was to be reſtored, throughout all Germany, to the footing on which it ſtood on the firſt of January, 1624; except in the Palatinate; where that, in which it ſtood in 1619, was to take place.

ALL the eccleſiaſtical benefices poſſeſſed by proteſtants in 1624, and by the elector Palatine in 1629, were to remain in their poſſeſſion.

EVERY catholic or proteſtant incumbent to loſe his benefice on changing his religion.

EVERY immediate member of the empire, to have the right of changing and reforming the religion of his territories, as far as ſhould be conſiſtent with the ſtate of religion in 1624, and the agreements made with his own ſubjects.

THE ſpiritual authority of the pope and other catholic prelates was ſuſpended, or rather aboliſhed, with regard to the proteſtants.

THE ſubjects of German princes embracing a religion different from that which was eſtabliſhed in the country in 1624, might be tolerated by their prince; and, in caſe he ſhould not chuſe to tolerate them, they were to have leave to quit the country within three years.

THE imperial chamber, to conſiſt of twenty-four proteſtant and twenty-ſix catholic members; and the emperor to admit ſix proteſtants of the aulic council.

AN equal number of catholic and proteſtant ſtates to be choſen for the diets of deputation, except when called on extraordinary affairs; in that caſe, the deputies to be all proteſtants, if the buſineſs concerns proteſtants; and all catholics, if it relates to thoſe of that religion.

AT the diet, and in the tribunals of the empire, nothing to be concluded by the plurality of all the votes of the catholics, againſt all the votes of the proteſtants.

SHOULD the opinion of the two bodies, in the diet, happen at any time to claſh with each other, the difference to be terminated in an amicable manner. Should the ſame thing happen in the tribunals of the empire, then the cauſe to be moved to the general diet.

Regulations with regard to the public government.

THE princes and ſtates of Germany aſſembled in the diets to have a concluſive voice in all the deliberations of the empire, eſpecially when new laws are to be made, or old ones explained; when war is to be declared; troops levied; contributions exacted; ſubſidies raiſed in the empire; fortreſſes built; treaties of alliance, or peace concluded, &c. In ſhort, their formal conſent to be abſolutely requiſite for the validity of the reſolutions taken on any of theſe occaſions.

EVERY thing relating to the election of a king of the Romans during the emperor's life, the forming of a perpetual capitulation

pitulation to be ſigned by all future emperors, the manner of putting a ſtate under the ban of the empire, and the ſteps to be taken with regard to the matricula, the reformation of juſtice, and other points of general concern to the Germanic body; all theſe matters were referred to the enſuing diet.

THE college of the imperial towns, which, for a long time paſt, had aſſiſted at the comitial deliberations, without any concluſive voice, were now permitted to have one, in the ſame manner with the college of the electors and princes.

IN all deliberations upon points which may turn to the prejudice of a ſtate of the empire, or expoſe it to loſe any right it had lawfully acquired, nothing to be decided even by a plurality of voices, or otherwiſe than by an amicable accommodation.

THE aulic council of the emperor to conform to the ordinances and method of proceeding uſed in the imperial chamber.

IN fine, all the ſtates of the empire, in particular, were confirmed in the right of making alliances with foreign princes, provided ſuch alliances were not to the prejudice of the emperor and the empire.

FRANCE and Sweden made themſelves guarantees of all the articles contained in the two treaties, which were to be conſidered as making but one.

Account of what more particularly concerns the houſe of Mecklenburg in the treaty of Weſtphalia.

SUCH is the ſubſtance of the famous treaty of Weſtphalia; all we ſhall add concerning it, is a more particular account of what relates to the houſe of Mecklenburg, whoſe hiſtory we are writing, and which was one of the leading parties at the congreſs. So early as 1644, duke Adolph Frederick ſent M. Abraham Kaiſer as his deputy to Oſnabrug, with inſtructions to inſiſt on the ceſſion of both the ſees of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, and ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the duchy of Saxe Lauenburg. We have already taken notice of a compact between the houſes of Mecklenburg and Saxe Lauenburg, that on the extinction of the latter, the former ſhould ſucceed to its territories. Duke Adolph Frederick, being aware that the Swedes would in ſome meaſure

measure be indemnified at the expence of Mecklenburg, might with the greater propriety insist on the confirmation of that compact, which had been so long protracted by the imperial court. Sweden seconded this demand; but the elector of Saxony, pretending to have had a grant of the survivorship of that country from the court of Vienna, made a difficulty of complying with the house of Mecklenburg. The princes of this family, however, did not drop their claim; for we meet with a letter of Charles XI. king of Sweden, dated in the year 1670, in which he gives Gustavus Adolphus strong assurances that he will assist him to obtain his right. But Julius Francis, last duke of Lauenburg, dying in 1689, the elector, John George of Saxony, took possession of the country. Soon after, it was sold, in 1697, to George William, duke of Lunenburg, by Augustus Frederick, elector of Saxony, whose advancement to the crown of Poland cost him immense sums. Thus the house of Mecklenburg, though its pretensions were unexceptionably just, saw itself irrecoverably disappointed.

With regard to the two fees of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, the envoy obtained his master's request; they were erected into temporal hereditary principalities, and settled on duke Adolph Frederick, with a seat and vote at the diet. It was even granted, that on the decease of the present prebendaries, their livings should be suppressed and added to the prince's demesnes. The two commanderies of Mirow and Nimerow were likewise as a farther indemnification incorporated with the demesnes. These formerly belonged to the grand master of Sornburg. The order of St. John solemnly protested against this settlement; but no regard was paid to their complaint, either at Osnabrug or Schwerin. The duke of Schwerin took possession of Mirow; and the duke of Gustrow had Nemerow. Duke Gustavus Adolphus, on his giving up Ratzeburg to duke Adolph Frederick, received in compensation three prebends, at Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Strasburg, which collectively were perhaps little inferior in value to the diocese of Ratzeburg. These were the advantages which Mecklenburg reaped from the peace. On the other hand it was to yield Wismar, together with fort Walfisch, the

the peninſula of Poel, and the manor of Nienkloſter to the crown of Sweden, which alſo kept poſſeſſion of the harbour of Warnemunde, to the great diſpleaſure of the dukes. As the houſe of Mecklenburg had already been in poſſeſſion of the biſhopricks of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, together with Mirow, which were alſo ſecured to thoſe princes by treaties with the chapter and the order, all that the ducal family could properly be ſaid to have gained, conſiſted only in the three prebends, the commanderies of Nemerow, with the guarantee of the whole empire for the unmoleſted enjoyment of them, and the abolition of the alternative of Ratzeburg with the houſe of Lunenburg. It was, however, a queſtion, whether all theſe were an equivalent for the loſs of the city of Wiſmar, of the tolls on the Eaſt Sea, the peninſula of Poel, and the manor of Nienkloſter. Not long after duke Guſtavus loſt one part of his ſmall compenſation; for Lewis XIV. upon his becoming maſter of Straſburg, actuated by an exceſſive zeal for the catholic religion, thought proper to eject the eight proteſtant prebendaries eſtabliſhed in that city in virtue of the treaty of Weſtphalia, among whom were, beſides duke Guſtavus, two dukes of Brunſwick, and gave the prebends to Roman catholics, in whoſe hands they remain to this day.

THUS ended a moſt cruel civil war, which had deſolated Germany, without the leaſt reſpite, for thirty years. If, on the one hand, the ſucceſs of Ferdinand and the catholics, during the firſt ten years, exceeded their hopes; on the other, the conſtancy of Sweden rendered the German liberties, and the proteſtant religion triumphant during the laſt ten. It muſt appear, no doubt, very ſtrange, that Ferdinand III. and the catholic ſtates ſhould conſent to ſuch diſadvantageous conditions. But the progreſs of the Swedes in the emperor's hereditary dominions, the havock made in Bavaria by Wrangel and Turenne, and a ſpirit of revolt which began to infect Auſtria, ſhook the emperor's conſtancy. Add to this, he was of a more pacific diſpoſition than his father; and, being leſs a ſlave to Spaniſh maxims, did not think himſelf obliged to adhere, in all points, to the plans, which Ferdinand II. had formed in the height of his proſperity.

SWEDEN ſtood equally in need of a peace; and, beſides, obtained, by this, conſiderable advantages for herſelf and her allies. She removed from the ſhores of the Baltic ſea, a powerful neighbour, who had made even the great Guſtavus tremble; ſhe humbled the houſe of Auſtria, and delivered Germany from a yoke, with which herſelf had been threatened. On the other hand, her armies, for a long time paſt, conſiſted entirely of German troops, intermixed with a few Swediſh regiments. Moſt of the ſoldiers called out for a peace; and there was great reaſon to fear a general deſertion, in caſe they had been refuſed.

FRANCE, likewiſe, had her territories enlarged by this peace, to the very banks of the Rhine; ſhe rivetted herſelf for a conſiderable time, in the friendſhip of the princes of the empire, and acquired a party in it ſtrong enough to ballance the houſe of Auſtria. Beſides, a civil war now began to break out in the heart of her own dominions; and the peace concluded between the Spainards and the Dutch, made it neceſſary for France to ſend much ſtronger armies into the Low Countries. Upon the whole, therefore, France had as much need of peace, as the emperor and Swedes.

THE catholic princes of Germany were too weak to form, alone, any oppoſition to this treaty. Their lands were laid waſte, and exhauſted of men and money. And in the main, it was the church which paid for all the advantages granted to the Swedes and the proteſtants. The catholic princes granted nothing. On the contrary they ſhared in the rights ſecured by this peace to all the members of the Germanic body.

THUS the treaty of Weſtphalia fixed the government of the empire, which had never been well ſettled before that period. The firſt Othos, though elective, were arbitrary monarchs; the princes of the houſe of Suabia, though diſturbed by the popes, had exerciſed in ſome parts a more abſolute, in others a more dependent authority. The misfortunes of Frederick II. and his ſons, had introduced a real anarchy, during which every thing was confounded, when the people had no liberty, and the chief no power. The Auſtrian emperors, by a regular and well

concerted conduct, had inſenſibly recovered ſome of the prerogatives of their ſceptre; Charles V. greatly increaſed their power, and this able politician left a plan to his ſucceſſors for rendering them abſolute. Ferdinand I. and his poſterity, treading in the ſame path, made ſome progreſs towards that great object, and the more ſo as the lenity of their government had conciliated the affections of the people. Ferdinand II. exerting the utmoſt firmneſs and intrepidity, was upon the point of eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm, when Guſtavus ſtepped in and deſtroyed an edifice, which the Auſtrian princes had been erecting for ſo many ages. The Swediſh arms, with the aſſiſtance of France, triumphed over all the policy and cunning of the court of Vienna, and prepared that form of government, which was ſettled by the treaty of Weſtphalia. The empire of Germany then became what it is at preſent, an aſſembly of ſovereigns and free cities, united for their common intereſt, an aſſembly connected by general laws, and governed by a chief, who has only the power to execute the reſolves of the nation *.

* Heiſſe, Bougeant, Pfanner, Barre, Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz.

THE HISTORY OF VANDALIA.

BOOK VIII.

Of the Dukes of MECKLENBURG, from the Peace of Weſtphalia, in 1648, to the auſpicious Nuptials of Princeſs SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and GEORGE III. King of Great Britain, in 1761.

THE laſt period of our hiſtory is conſigned to peace and nuptial joy; the deſtructive ſword is ſheathed, Minerva with her olive branch ſucceeds to thundering Mars, the arts and ſciences revive, and Mecklenburg enjoys the fruits of a happy tranquillity. In the midſt of this pleaſing ſerenity, a ſudden cloud overcaſts the ſky, ſpreads a gloom through the whole country, and the harmony between the ſovereign and the ſtates is interrupted; but the ſtorm at length blows over, duke Chriſtian Lewis II. takes the helm, a calm enſues, and the good prince ſteers the veſſel of the commonwealth into harbour. At this happy juncture a bright ſtar riſes in the duchy of Strelitz, glitters for a while in the eaſtern hemiſphere, and ſuddenly ſhoots weſtward to bleſs Great Britain with its benign influence.

CHAP.

FREDERICK FRANCIS,

Prince of Mecklenburg Suerin.

G.R. III.
BRITISH MUSEUM

CHAP. I.

Containing the remainder of the Reign of Duke JOHN ALBERT II.

Duke John Albert II. greatly affected with the calamities of his people. Gives ſhelter to oppreſſed foreigners. Account of Angelo Sala, and the two Schedius's. Duke John Albert turns Calviniſt. Death and character of duke John Albert. His marriages and iſſue. Diſpute about the guardianſhip of duke Guſtavus Adolphus.

1636. Duke John Albert greatly affected with the calamities of his people.

THE calamities of the late deſtructive war made the deepeſt impreſſion on the mind of duke John Albert II. his affections for his ſubjects heightened his concern for their diſtreſſes, and he ardently wiſhed for the happy period which would reſcue them from their miſery. For, notwithſtanding the peace of Prague and the neutrality obſerved by him and the duke his brother, the belligerant parties ſtill continued by marches and countermarches to haraſs the duchy of Mecklenburg, and to make it feel all the direful effects of a long and ruinous war. In this forlorn ſtate, duke John Albert uſed every endeavour to relieve his poor ſubjects, and even extended his humanity to exiled and oppreſſed foreigners, to whom he granted an open and generous reception. The moſt noted of theſe were the marquis Angelo Sala, from Italy; and the two Schediuſes, George and Elias, father and ſon, from Bohemia, who found at Guſtrow, duke John Albert's capital, a comfortable ſhelter from all their perſecutions. This tender commiſeration towards the afflicted, was a quality which gained him great reputation; and his own misfortunes were a farther motive for his exerting this princely virtue.

Gives ſhelter to oppreſſed foreigners.

ANGELO SALA was an Italian marquis, born at Vicenza, in the territories of Venice. His favourite ſtudies were medicine and politics;

Account of Angelo Sala, and the two Schediuſes.

politics; he alſo made ſome progreſs in divinity, by which means he diſcovered the errors of the Romiſh religion, and determined to become a member of the proteſtant communion. He therefore renounced all the hopes he might entertain in his own country, and went to Germany, only for the ſake of openly profeſſing thoſe truths of which he was convinced. But he found no place of ſhelter, till Providence brought him to Guſtrow, where duke John Albert received him into his family as phyſician, and, amidſt the general diſtreſs of Mecklenburg, allowed him a handſome maintenance. He wrote ſeveral tracts on politics and phyſic, and left behind him a ſon named John Chriſtian Sala, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury to Guſtavus Adolphus at Guſtrow, and hereditary lord of Bellin, Zehna, and Luſewitz.

The elder Schedius was rector of the ſchool at Cadon, in Bohemia; but, in 1622, he, with other proteſtants being baniſhed, repaired to Mecklenburg, where he was firſt made rector of the ſchool at Butzow; and afterwards, duke John Albert preferred him to be provoſt of the college of Guſtrow. He was a perſon of very great erudition, celebrated for his firmneſs in adverſity, but ſtill more famous as father of Elias Schedius, who, in 1622, came with him from Bohemia to Mecklenburg, when only ſeven years of age. In his twelfth year Elias made a figure as an orator and poet, both in the Greek and Latin languages; he was alſo an elegant tranſlator, and an excellent judge of compoſitions; in his eighteenth year he was poet laureat, but died in 1621, only twenty-ſix years old. He immortalized his name by that elaborate work, *De Diis Veterum Germanorum, Gallorum, Britanorum, et Vandalorum.*

Duke John Albert turns Calviniſt.

Duke John Albert had changed his religion early in life, viz. in 1617, having quitted the confeſſion of Augſburg for the reformed perſuaſion. Some imagine this change to have been occaſioned by his marriage with a princeſs of Heſſe, whoſe father was a zealous Calviniſt, while others think it was ſuggeſted to him by ſome foreign nobleman; perhaps there was a concurrence of both. He ſhewed himſelf a zealous convert, by endeavouring

at

at first to introduce the religion, which he had newly embraced, into the cathedral of Guſtrow, and the convent of Ribnitz; and, in 1620 and 1621, he even communicated his intentions to the provincial diet; in 1633, after his reſtoration, he made a third attempt, having prevailed on the nuns of Ribnitz to ſell him the convent. But his brother, duke Adolph Frederick, in conjunction with the ſtates, ſo ſtrongly oppoſed this innovation, that all he could obtain, was to have a reformed chapel in his palace, for himſelf and ſuch of his houſhold as were of that perſuaſion.

Death and character of duke John Albert.

THIS excellent prince did not live to ſee an end of the fatal commotions in Germany; his concern for the public calamities affected him to ſuch a degree as to throw him into a jaundice, which, nothwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance of the faculty, turned into a dropſy. Then apprehending his diſſolution to be near, he made his will on the nineteenth of March, 1636. A few weeks after he began to grow worſe, of which his brother duke Adolph Frederick being apprized, went to pay him a viſit, but was informed by a meſſenger on the road, that he had reſigned his life on the twenty-third of April in the night *. He was a prince of a mild pacific diſpoſition, tender and humane to his people, and to all about him, affable and eaſy of acceſs, and a friend to juſtice. He was generous and liberal to the poor, whom he regularly relieved by monthly largeſſes, in the times of great diſtreſs. He uſed often to ſay to his chaplain, John Appelius: *I mind not myſelf, nor thoſe about me; neither I nor my family can ever want food and raiment. But what is to become of my poor ſubjects; they are periſhing with miſery, and have nothing to give me, while I find myſelf incapable of relieving their diſtreſſes.* This prince was alſo a very good ſcholar, had a taſte for the polite arts, and made ſome progreſs in theology, as appears from three volumes on religious ſubjects, in his own hand writing. As for his perſon, he was one of the handſomeſt princes of his time, and had made himſelf complete maſter of every manly exerciſe becoming a

* We have poſtponed this account of duke John Albert's death, that we might not interrupt the narration of the thirty years war.

prince

prince and a gentleman, which he had learnt at Straſburg and Beſançon. To complete his good fortune, he was very happy in wedlock, having been thrice married to women of great beauty, and of a virtuous and moſt amiable diſpoſition, a circumſtance of which he himſelf uſed often to boaſt *.

His marriages and iſſue.

Duke John Albert's firſt conſort, whom he married in 1611, was Margaret Elizabeth, daughter of duke Chriſtopher of Mecklenburg, and biſhop of Ratzeburg, by his Swediſh ſpouſe; ſhe was brought up with Charles X. of Sweden, at Stockholm, where duke John Albert celebrated his marriage. She bore him three children, John Chriſtopher, Sophia Elizabeth, and Chriſtina Margaret. Prince John Chriſtopher, his firſt child, born in 1611, lived no longer than 1612; Princeſs Sophia Elizabeth, born 1613, was, in 1635, married to Auguſtus duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, and died in 1676; princeſs Chriſtina Margaret, born in 1615, was in 1640, married to duke Francis Albert, of Sax-Lauenburg, and he being killed in 1642, ſhe was, in 1650, married to her couſin, Duke Chriſtian Lewis of Schwerin, from whom ſhe was afterwards divorced in 1659, and died in 1665. His ſecond conſort, whom he eſpouſed in 1618, was Elizabeth, daughter of Maurice, landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel; this princeſs is ſaid to have induced him to change his religion; but whatever conjugal affection there might be between them, their marriage proved ſterile, and ſhe died in 1625. His third wife was Eleonora Maria, daughter to prince Chriſtian of Anhalt; ſhe was his faithful companion in all his diſtreſſes, and, in his exile, procured him a ſafe and delightful retreat at Hartzgerode, in the territories of her family. By this lady he had the princes John Chriſtian, and Guſtavus Adolphus, and the princeſſes Anna Sophia, Eleonora, and Louiſa. Prince John Chriſtian, whom ſhe bore to him in

* The following epitaph was written for him by Cordeſius.

Et mea ſors eadem ferme, quæ fratris Adolphi,
Sagano cogor cedere Guſtrovium.
Sueci reſtituunt: poſt hæc mihi redditur uxor
Haſſica, Calvini dogmata valde probans.
Huic ego ſubſcribo: charum Guſtavus Adolphus
Conjugii pignus me cito patre caret.

1629,

1625, at Hartzgeroge, died in 1731. Guſtavus Adolphus, the ſecond ſon, was born in 1633, and ſo called in memory of the heroic king of that name: an account of him will occur in the ſequel, as ſucceſſor to his father, at Guſtrow. Princeſs Anna Sophia, born in 1628, was, in 1649, married to duke Lewis of Ribnitz, and died in 1666. Eleonora, born in 1630, died in 1631; and Louiſa, born 1635, followed her ſiſter in 1648. The ducheſs Elizabeth ſurvived duke John Albert, and died in 1657.

Diſpute about the guardianſhip of duke Guſtavus Adolphus.

PRINCE Guſtavus Adolphus was the only ſon who ſurvived his father duke John Albert, and ſucceeded him in the ſovereignty of Guſtrow: duke Auguſtus, of Lunenburg, dying the ſame year, Guſtavus was alſo choſen adminiſtrator of Ratzeburg. But as he was only three years of age, the guardianſhip of the young prince devolved to duke Adolph Frederick, of Schwerin, his uncle. The ducheſs dowager indeed claimed this right by virtue of duke John Albert's will, eſpecially as to his education; but duke Adolph Frederick inſiſted on the guardianſhip, both with regard to the education and the adminiſtration of government.

THIS diſpute was of ſuch a nature as might have brought on the total ruin of the country, had not both parties joined in referring it to a judicial deciſion. The ducheſs, as we have above obſerved, claimed the tutelage, as conferred on her by the will of her late huſband; duke Adolph Frederick grounded his claim on the ancient cuſtom of the family, and on conſanguinity; accordingly, on the death of duke John Albert, he immediately, as the neareſt relation, entered upon the adminiſtration of Mecklenburg and Guſtrow, little apprehending that the will contained any thing derogatory to his right. But finding, on the opening of it, that duke John Albert had appointed his widow and ſome Calviniſt princes joint guardians, himſelf being omitted, by which nothing leſs was intended than the introduction of the reformed religion, and other things contrary to the conſtitution of Mecklenburg, he, in conjunction with the ſtates, ſolemnly proteſted againſt it; and both parties made ap-

plication to the emperor. This prince ſeemed to favour the ducheſs Eleonora, and both he and his ſucceſſor Ferdinand III. iſſued out ſeveral mandates to duke Adolph Frederick, commanding him to deliver up the young prince to Auguſtus duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, who was to have the care of his education till the diſpute could be determined by the aulic council, before which tribunal the contending parties had brought their cauſe. But the emperor being too much engaged in the war with the Swedes to enforce his orders, duke Adolph Frederick found means to elude them, and thinking his pretenſions well founded, went and took the young duke Guſtavus in 1637, as it were from his mother's arms, carried him to Butzow, and from thence removed him to Schwerin, where he was carefully educated for ſome time with his own children, in the Lutheran religion, and gave the greateſt hopes of proving an excellent prince.

Duke Adolph Frederick's behaviour on this occaſion will naturally appear to have been very ſevere with regard to the ducheſs dowager; but it was what the public affairs, and eſpecially the intereſt of the religion of the country, ſeemed to require. At the ſame time, the dowager had notice to leave Guſtrow, and betake herſelf to the place of her dowry; yet, by an imperial mandate, ſhe obtained a reſpite; but was obliged to leave the prince under the care of duke Adolph Frederick, though without relinquiſhing her claim in law. During the proceſs, which, as uſual, proved very tedious, ſome things were decided in favour of the dowager, yet finding at length her main endeavours ineffectual, in 1645, ſhe gave up the point, and retired from Guſtrow to her dower at Strelitz. Upon which duke Adolph Frederick conducted his pupil to Guſtrow, where he was inaugurated with great pomp and ſolemnity, on the twenty-firſt of March, 1645. Duke Adolph Frederick, however, continued in poſſeſſion of the guardianſhip till 1654, when the young prince obtained a *Venia Ætatis* from the emperor, or a diſpenſation of the age of majority, in conſequence of which he took the government into his own hands.

In

In the year 1645, the celebrated Hugo Grotius was driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Mecklenburg, and landing at Roſtock in a very bad ſtate of health, died three days after. His entrails were interred in the church of St. Mary's, at Roſtock *, but his body was conveyed to Holland †.

CHAP. II.

Containing the remainder of the Reign of Duke ADOLPH FREDERICK I.

State of Mecklenburg after the peace of Weſtphalia. Treaty of execution. Extenſion of the privilege de non appellando. *Quarrel between the duke and the chapter of Ratzeburg. The duke forms a project to join the Baltic and the Schwerin Lake by a canal. Account of Guſtavus Adolphus, the young duke of Guſtrow. Death of the Emperor Ferdinand III. Death and character of Duke Adolph Frederick. Account of his two wills. Duke Adolph Frederick's marriage and iſſue.*

State of Mecklenburg after the peace of Weſtphalia.

THE tranquillity of the empire being now reſtored by the treaty of Weſtphalia, duke Adolph Frederick had the happineſs of ſeeing his ſubjects, at length, enjoy the fruits of peace; and lived himſelf ten years after that memorable æra, to ſhare with them in ſo great a bleſſing, which it was his conſtant ſtudy to confirm and promote. In theſe, his patriotic endeavours, however, he was not exempt from interruption. It was impoſſible a treaty, made to reconcile ſo many claſhing intereſts, by

* The author of this hiſtory happening to paſs through Roſtock in 1766, went to viſit the church of St Mary's, and ſeeing no monument nor inſcription in honour of that great and learned man, wrote the following lines on him by way of epitaph.

Hic ſitus eſt toto famâ notiſſimus orbe
Grotius, ingenio clarus et eloquio,
Exuviæ illuſtres parvâ conduntur in urnâ,
Ingenii lumen condere nil poterit.

† Beehr, Kluver, Weſtphal, Franck, Buckholtz.

the alteration of ſo many tenures, and the exchange of ſo many territories, not to ſpeak of the immenſe pecuniary indemnifications ſtipulated by it, ſhould not require ſome other treaties, both to explain its meaning, and enforce, as well as regulate and accelerate its execution. Several, accordingly, were made for theſe purpoſes. But, as there was but one immediately connected with the ſubject of our hiſtory, we may paſs by the reſt; this was the *treaty of execution*, which ſoon followed the peace of Weſtphalia.

Treaty of execution.

It owed its riſe to the jealouſy of the Swedes, who refuſed to withdraw their troops, or to reduce their forces, till the articles relative to the amneſty and the general reſtitution of territories was completed. In order to ſettle this matter, a treaty was concluded at Nuremberg, to the ſatisfaction of all parties, towards the end of the year 1649, in a congreſs which had been ſet on foot in that city ſome months before, by the empire and Sweden. Thus, though hoſtilities had ceaſed on the ſigning of the peace of Weſtphalia, it was not till the year 1650, that Sweden withdrew her troops from their diſperſed cantonments all over the empire, particularly in Mecklenburg, where, however, ſhe kept Wiſmar, in right of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and Warnemunde for her own conveniency, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances the dukes of Mecklenburg could make againſt it. The grounds upon which Sweden proceeded with regard to the laſt article were theſe: on occaſion of the late war, ſhe had eſtabliſhed a toll at Warnemunde, of no inconſiderable produce; and, by the treaty of Weſtphalia, all the tolls in the ports of Mecklenburg and Pomerania had been adjudged and confirmed to that crown. Some letters, in the Latin tongue, paſſed on this occaſion, between Guſtavus Adolphus duke of Guſtrow, and Charles Guſtavus king of Sweden, and were publiſhed in 1661. This toll at Warnemunde being a very heavy burden, proved very detrimental to the trade of Roſtock; accordingly, that town has been ever ſince on the decline. For, though Sweden ſome years after gave up this place to duke Frederick William; yet the toll ſubſiſting, we may very well imagine, that the mere change of maſters

maſters was but a poor conſolation for the continuance of ſo heavy and galling a yoke.

Though duke Adolph Frederick was ſo happy as to ſee the peace of Germany reſtored, yet he had been greatly diſappointed in his expectancy of the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg, which became vacant in 1649, by the death of the laſt landgrave Maximilian Adam. The houſe of Mecklenburg had received this expectancy from the emperor Maximilian in 1502; which was confirmed by Maximilian II. in 1572, and by Ferdinand II. in 1621. Yet, when the vacancy happened, the elector of Bavaria laid his hands on that principality; and duke Adolph Frederick I. did not think it adviſeable in thoſe times of confuſion, to make any oppoſition; eſpecially as the emperor was under very great obligations to the houſe of Bavaria. What happened afterwards concerning this affair, will be mentioned in the reign of duke Frederick William.

Affair of the expectancy of Leuchtenberg.

In the mean time, duke Adolph Frederick obtained from the emperor, in 1651, the extenſion of a privilege, which contributed as much to the honour of his own family, as to the care of his ſubjects, ſince it could not, on many occaſions, but ſave them a great deal of time, trouble, and expence. This privilege, is that called in Germany, *de non appellando*, or of judging without appeal, to the Aulic council; and is, in conſequence of the many advantages attending it, juſtly deemed a moſt valuable jewel to every ſtate by which it is enjoyed. We have already obſerved, that duke Ulric obtained it in 1559 from the emperor Maximilian II. in ſuits for ſums not exceeding three hundred florins. In 1623, it was not only confirmed to the dukes Adolph Frederick, and John Albert II. but extended to one thouſand florins. The extenſion now granted by Ferdinand III. to duke Adolph Frederick, went as far as two thouſand florins; and took in, beſides, the whole country. In all the electoral dominions, this right, *de non appellando*, is without limitation, but not ſo in the territories of the other princes of the empire; an inſtance of which we have in Mecklenburg, where the inhabitants may appeal, in all caſes where the ſum in diſpute exceeds two thouſand florins,

Extenſion of the privilege *de non appellando*.

florins, from the judgment of their princes to the aulic council, and even ſue the princes themſelves before that tribunal.

Great fire at Schwerin.

THE ſame year, the greateſt part of the city of Schwerin was conſumed by fire, which broke out at a ſoundery, on the tenth of July, at two in the afternoon. A hundred and ſixty of the beſt houſes in the town, together with the court of juſtice, were reduced to aſhes. The flames had reached the cathedral, and with difficulty was that fine Gothic building preſerved. The ducal palace ſuffered no damage. The duke was then at Domitz, and upon his return could not refrain from tears upon beholding the miſery of the citizens; who, by this misfortune, were bereft of what they had been ſcarcely able to ſave from the wreck of the late war.

Quarrel between the duke and the chapter of Ratzeburg.

THE year following, a quarrel aroſe between the dukes of Mecklenburg and the chapter of Ratzeburg, concerning the ſecularization of the cathedral prebends, to which that body had ſhewed their diſlike in 1649, and which they now openly oppoſed, though ſtipulated by the peace to commence on the deceaſe of the then living prebendaries; but they were, at length, obliged to comply. Not content with this advantage, duke Adolph Frederick obtained a fief-patent in favour of himſelf and his pupil the duke of Guſtrow, for the principality of Ratzeburg, and, likewiſe, for that of Schwerin; and they received ſolemn homage for both as hereditary princes, at Schonberg. Some time after, duke Adolph Frederick ſold ſome villages belonging to the ſee of Schwerin, to the towns of Lubeck and Hamburgh. His ſon, Chriſtian Lewis I. not approving his father's contract, reclaimed thoſe villages; but the emperor countenancing theſe cities, he thought it not adviſeable to proceed any farther in this affair.

The duke forms a project for joining the Baltic and the Schwerin lake by a canal.

AMONGST the many grand and uſeful projects formed, or proſecuted by Adolph Frederick, to render his ſubjects not only eaſy but affluent, was that of joining, by a canal, the Baltic ſea and the lake of Schwerin. Albert the Handſome had, before his time, been very eager to carry this ſcheme into execution, but

was diverted from it by his brother duke Henry the Pacific, though no work, certainly, could better deſerve the concurrence of a pacific prince. But, perhaps, conſidering how many other princes might think their private intereſt hurt by ſuch a work, and how much mankind of all ranks are apt to be ſwayed by private intereſt, Henry prevented as much miſchief by his advice, as the making of this canal would otherwiſe have done good. A modern author * gives us not only a deſcription of the lake of Schwerin and the harbour of Wiſmar, as drawn by order of Walſtein, (a fact, by the bye, much to that general's honour) but likewiſe of the navigation between the lake of Schwerin and the Elbe, through the rivers Elde and Store; and hence it appears, that duke Magnus III. duke John Albert I. Ulric II. and John and Sigiſmund Auguſtus, ſeverally took it in hand; and that even duke Adolph Frederick had actually begun to proſecute the work before the commencement of the thirty years war. Walſtein himſelf, though an uſurper, might have completed the undertaking in the courſe of that war, had not his untimely end put an end to all his ſchemes of public utility as well as to his private ambition. Duke Adolph Frederick had no leſs zeal for this work then his predeceſſors, but his advanced age, when reſtored to his territories, the inability of his ſtates to ſupply him with the neceſſary ſums, and, above all, the conſideration that the Swedes, by being maſters of Wiſmar, muſt come in for a conſiderable ſhare of the benefit, without being at any part of the expence, and might, at any time, deprive his country of the whole; all theſe reaſons, determined the duke to leave the taſk to younger princes, and better times; though, as the above-mentioned author juſtly obſerves, nothing could more effectually add both to the glory of the prince and the proſperity of his people, than the execution of ſuch an undertaking. It ſtill, however, remains the mere object of many *pia deſideria*, to ſee the accompliſhment of which will require a very uncommon degree of longevity. All that duke Adolph Frederick could do for the benefit of his country, he effectually performed,

* Potker Meckl. Miſc. Part IVth.

and

and in the true ſpirit of a wiſe and tender parent. He began with thoſe works, by which the greateſt number of his harraſſed ſubjects could be moſt immediately and effectually relieved. He had in a manner a new ſtate to form; every art and manufacture was loſt, and to reſtore was not leſs difficult than at firſt to introduce them. The country was depopulated, the artificer and the labourer had been obliged to betake themſelves to arms, and to find means of ſubſiſtence by plunder. The duke, by gentle degrees, brought his ſubjects into order, and, by every encouragement, tempted them to turn their minds to agriculture. He reeſtabliſhed the decayed manufactures, and repaired the ruined villages and towns, particularly the former; by which means, the number of inhabitants remarkably increaſed.

Account of duke Guſtavus Adolphus of Guſtrow.

In the mean time, duke Guſtavus Adolphus dedicated part of his minority to the viſiting of foreign countries, from which he returned in 1653, with an harveſt of uſeful obſervations, proportionable to the ſeeds he had ſown before his ſetting out. Full of zeal for the welfare of his ſubjects, and conſcious of his abilities to promote it, he applied to the emperor for leave to aſſume the reins of his duchy, before he had quite attained the age required by law for that purpoſe; and having obtained that permiſſion, he received the homage of his ſtates at Guſtrow in 1654. Duke Adolph Frederick, diſſatisfied at the form of the oath, and at this ceremony, as well as the homage itſelf, entered a proteſt againſt both; and the conſequence was, a miſunderſtanding between the two princes; but it had no bad conſequences. The nephew ſoon gave way to the uncle, and conſented that the form of the homage to be paid by the ſtates of the country ſhould be altered; and, thus was terminated through the ingenuous and equitable diſpoſition of the young duke, a diſagreement which might otherwiſe have proved very prejudicial to the ducal family.

Such a ready ſacrifice of ambition to peace in ſo young a prince, gave his ſubjects the greateſt hopes of their finding in him both a friend and a father; and he acted up to their expectations, till the day of his much lamented death, with a prudence and goodneſs, of which the ſeveral regulations made by

by him are ſo many ſignal teſtimonies. Formerly the public affairs were diſcuſſed with a confuſion little becoming their importance. The privy council, the fief office, the courts of judicature, the conſiſtory, and the revenue, were till now all intermixed. Guſtavus Adolphus ſeparated them. He, likewiſe, eſtabliſhed a new ſyſtem of œconomy in his court; and it proved one of his moſt uſeful eſtabliſhments.

This prince was, likewiſe, remarkable for his acquaintance with men of letters; and what was ſtill more valuable, he had the happy talent of making the proper uſe of ſuch bright accompliſhments, in the choice of his miniſters. His Latin letters to the king of Sweden, and the beautiful epitaph on his privy counſellor Paſſau, juſtly attributed to him, are inconteſtible proofs of the former; and of the latter, his ſagacity in diſtinguiſhing that great man among the common crowd of peaſants, in whom the richeſt gifts of nature are ſo hard to be perceived, for want of a proper degree of learning to bring them to light *. Paſſau, it muſt be remembered, did ample juſtice to his maſter's choice; and it is, in all probability, to that miniſter's abilities the duchy of Mecklenburg Guſtrow is indebted for many of thoſe judicious regulations made by duke Guſtavus Adolphus.

In the year 1657, the emperor Ferdinand III. departed this life at Vienna, on the firſt of April, aged forty-nine years, of which he had reigned twenty. He was a prince leſs feared during his life-time, and more regreted after his death, than his father. His eldeſt ſon Ferdinand IV. had been crowned king of the Romans in 1653, and died in 1654. Leopold, the ſecond ſon of Ferdinand III. after an interregnum of fifteen months, was choſen emperor in the room of his father, on the eighteenth of July 1658, at the age of eighteen. The ſucceeding emperors of the houſe of Auſtria were, in a great meaſure, indebted to Ferdinand III. for the authority which they afterwards maintained in the imperial diet. He introduced eight new members into the college of princes, moſt of whom were ſubjects of the

Death of the emperor Ferdinand III.

* See the author's travels through Mecklenburg, vol. I. p. 262.

Auſtrian family; and who, through motives of gratitude and duty, have ever ſince given their votes in favour of the houſe to which they were indebted for their new dignity.

Death of duke Adolph Frederick.

THE ſucceeding year, 1658, was fatal to Mecklenburg, by the melancholy death of duke Adolph Frederick, after a reign of forty-ſeven years, and in the ſeventieth year of his age. He was taken ill on the eleventh of February, and his body-phyſician judging the caſe dangerous, two more of the faculty were ſent for from Lubeck, but their conſultations proved ineffectual. His care of his ſpiritual concerns was as great as that of his temporal affairs, he being attended by two eminent divines, who adminiſtered conſolation to him out of the ſacred ſcriptures. The viſitation of the academy of Roſtock was a ſubject he had much at heart; and, as he often talked of it, Dr. Konig, ſuperintendant of Ratzeburg, begged he would lay aſide ſuch anxious thoughts, leſt they ſhould hurt his feeble body. Upon which, the prince anſwered him with ſome warmth: *What, is my ſickneſs a reaſon why I ſhould neglect the church and the care of public education? It is for that end ſovereigns are appointed. Of what uſe ſhould we be to the world if we had no thoughts of God, of his church, and of our country?* He received the ſacrament a few days before his death; and the above Dr. Konig reminding him, that he had not as yet been reconciled to his eldeſt ſon Chriſtian Lewis; he called him into the room, and recommended his brothers and ſiſters to his care, then bidding adieu to his ſervants and courtiers, he reſigned his ſoul to God, and cloſing his eye-lids himſelf with a handkerchief, which he wore upon his head, he expired that ſame day at three in the afternoon *.

THIS prince's reign was chequered with adverſity and proſperity. His character may be ſufficiently gathered from his ad-

* The following epitaph was written for him by Cordeſius.

Janus me genuit: teneo cum fratre Johanne
Imperii faſces: mox tamen id renuo.
Divido Megapolin: recipit me ſorte Suerinum,
Guſtrovium fratrem: milito cum capite.
Exturbor patria: redeo mox, pace recepta:
Grandævum ſuperat me numeroſa proles.

miniſtration. His many private virtues; his attachment to religion; the harmony in which he conſtantly lived with his neighbours; his zeal for the welfare of Germany in general, as well as his own territories in particular; his generous reſolutions on the arrival of Guſtavus Adolphus; his wiſe meaſures in the dangerous times which followed that prince's death; his conſtancy in affliction; his ſubſequent behaviour to his ſubjects, who juſtly loved and reſpected him as their common father; all theſe good qualities muſt certainly entitle him to the character of a brave, good, and wiſe prince.

Account of his two wills.

Duke Adolph Frederick had made two wills, one in 1633, and the other in 1654. In the firſt, he thought proper to revive the right of primogeniture, and bequeathed all his territories to duke Chriſtian Lewis I. In the ſecond, he aſſigned the principality of Ratzeburg to duke Charles II. and that of Schwerin to duke John George, with a clauſe, that ſhould any of the three reigning brothers die without iſſue, his principality ſhould deſcend to the next in ſucceſſion. But on his father's demiſe, duke Chriſtian Lewis, inſtead of paying any regard to the laſt of theſe wills, took poſſeſſion of the whole patrimony in virtue of the firſt, and found means to hold it, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

The not taking proper care to ſuppreſs the firſt of theſe wills, is, perhaps, the only miſtake, (for it cannot be called by a worſe name) which the moſt critical eye can diſcover in the long and trying reign of Adolph Frederick; for, as to his making them ſo very different, there are ſufficient motives to account for it. When he ſigned the firſt will, the clouds were gathering apace round his country; and the military ſervices he had good reaſon to think he might be engaged in, rendered him juſtly apprehenſive leſt he might be cut off in the midſt of the ſtorm. In this caſe, it is plain, it would be beſt for his country to have but one maſter. Perhaps, too, he might approve, and was for reſtoring the rights of primogeniture, as once appointed by his grandfather. Certain it is, he repented his having ever entered into any treaty of partition with his brother; but, though it was through mere ignorance that he had conſented to this ſacrifice,

his guardian, duke Charles, not having acquainted him with his grandfather's diſpoſition, his innate probity would never permit him to recede from it.

As to the ſecond will, it was dictated purely by parental affection. He had in 1654, when he made that will, a number of children; and from the little duty ſhewn him by the eldeſt, and the moroſe behaviour of that prince to his wife, he juſtly apprehended he might not conduct himſelf properly towards his brothers, when he ſhould have them in his power. However, he left his eldeſt ſon all his ancient patrimony. To the younger children he gave nothing but what he himſelf had acquired ſince the making of his firſt will, viz. the principalities of Ratzeburg and Schwerin. For, though duke Chriſtian Lewis had been choſen coadjutor by the chapter of Schwerin, and it had been declared in the capitulation of 1634, that the reigning duke of Schwerin ſhould always be biſhop; yet the ſee, and with it the chapter's right of election, being abſolutely ſuppreſſed by the peace of Weſtphalia, all conventions with it ceaſed of courſe. As, therefore, duke Chriſtian Lewis had no ſufficient motives for reſcinding the ſecond of his father's wills, his doing it muſt be conſidered as a formal breach of the obedience he owed him. Yet he carried his undutifulneſs ſtill farther. He neither beſtowed the honours of a ſolemn funeral on his remains, nor buried them in the vault belonging to the princes of Mecklenburg. This duty was firſt diſcharged by duke Frederick William.

To diſſemble nothing, it muſt be owned that duke Adolph Frederick had ſome thoughts of altering the firſt of his wills, before he actually made the ſecond. For; when duke Chriſtian Lewis was ſetting out on his travels, in 1641, his father made him ſign an obligation to comply with what will he might think proper to make, and he made no difficulty of ſigning the inſtrument, as, in all probability he knew nothing of the firſt will. Be that as it may, he was no ſtranger to it at his return; and, apprehenſive his father might make another, as, by what we have ſeen, actually happened in 1653, he delivered the emperor a proteſt againſt any ſuch proceeding; and perhaps, this

very ſtep to tie up duke Adolph Frederick's hands, was, amongſt ſeveral other diſagreeable particulars in his eldeſt ſon's behaviour, what principally engaged him to make the ſecond of his wills, and depoſit it in the council-houſe of Lubeck.

Duke Adolph Frederick's marriages and iſſue.

Duke Adolph Frederick was twice married; firſt, in 1622, to Anna Maria, daughter of Enno, count of Eaſt Frizeland; ſhe died in 1634: and, next to Maria Catharina, daughter of Julius Erneſt, duke of Brunſwick, who outlived him.

By his firſt conſort he had four princes, Chriſtian Lewis I. Charles II. John George, and Guſtavus Rodolphus; and four princeſſes, Sophia Agnes, Anna Maria, Hedwig, and Juliana. Chriſtian Lewis was born the firſt of December, 1623; Charles II. was born the eighth of March, 1626; and John George, on the fifth of May, 1659. We have already mentioned their being ſtript by their eldeſt brother of the territories left them by their father's will. Charles II. ſerved in the wars of Poland, as colonel of a regiment in the Swediſh ſervice; the latter end of his life he paſſed at Mirow, and died on the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, 1670, unmarried; John George, likewiſe reſided at Mirow; and, in 1675, married Elizabeth Eleonora, daughter of Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, but died the ſame year, on the ninth of July, through the miſtake of a page, who gave him to take inwardly, a medicine which was intended for outward application only. Guſtavus Rodolphus was a prebendary of Straſburg; he was born the twenty-ſixth of February, 1632, and had for wife Erdmuth Sophia, daughter to Francis Henry, duke of Saxe Lauenburg, but died without iſſue, on the fourteenth of May, 1670. Sophia Agnes, born the twelth of January, 1625, was married to Erdmann Auguſtus, margrave of Brandenburg Bareith; and, ſurviving her conſort, ſhe was choſen abbeſs or governeſs of the monaſtery of Rhunen, which, as it belonged to the ſee of Schwerin, Adolph Frederick might have ſequeſtered; but, in regard to the ladies, he continued it in its conventual ſtate, and they, to acknowledge the favour, choſe his daughter abbeſs. This mark of gratitude pleaſed him ſo much, that in 1654 he gave their

houſe

houſe a patent of exemption from ſequeſtration. After his deceaſe, duke Chriſtian Lewis, who paid no manner of regard to any clauſe in his father's laſt will, turned his ſiſter out of the convent, and took poſſeſſion of it. But, by an expreſs order from the emperor, he was ſoon obliged to reinſtate that princeſs, and put the convent on its former footing; accordingly, ſhe died abbeſs of it, on the twenty-ſeventh of February, 1694. Maria Anna was born on the eleventh of July, 1627; her huſband was the duke of Saxe Weiſſenfels, adminiſtrator of Magdeburg: She died the fourth of June, 1680. Princeſs Hedwig, born the eleventh of Auguſt, 1630, died the ſeventh of May, 1631; and Juliana, born the ſixth of November, 1633, died the third of February, 1634.

By his ſecond conſort, Adolph Frederick had ſeven princes, namely Frederick, Bernard Sigiſmund, Auguſtus, Adolphus Erneſt, Philip Lewis, Henry William, and Adolph Frederick II. who was poſthumous; alſo four princeſſes, Juliana Sybilla, Chriſtina, Maria Elizabeth, and Anna Sophia.

Frederick was born on the third of February, 1638. In his youth he viſited ſeveral foreign countries, and made a campaign in Hungary; after which he had a regiment in the Brandenburg ſervice. He had ſome conteſts with his brother, which ended in acts of open violence, as will be ſeen in the ſequel: at length, a reconciliation was brought about in 1681, by which Grabow was aſſigned him for his place of reſidence, with an allowance of ſix thouſand dollars. He had indeed, before, reſided at that town; but, then it was as one of his mother's family; and, after her death, his brother oppoſed it. In 1671, he married Chriſtina Wilhelmina, daughter to Chriſtopher William, landgrave of Heſſe Bingenheim; and the fruits of this marriage were three princes, all ſucceſſors to the ſovereignty. The firſt of them Frederick William, born the twenty-eighth of March, 1675, died the twenty-fourth of July, 1713. The ſecond, Charles Leopold, born the twenty-ſixth of November, 1679, died the twenty-eighth of November, 1747; and Chriſtian Lewis II. born the fifteenth of May, 1683, died the thirtieth of

May, 1756. Duke Frederick had likewiſe a daughter, Sophia Louiſa, born the ſixth of May, 1685, who, after being third wife to Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, and firſt king of Pruſſia, died in 1735. Duke Frederick himſelf departed this life the twenty-third of April, 1688. But his conſort reached the year 1722, and, during all that time, continued a widow. Concerning duke Adolph Frederick's other ſons, Bernard Sigiſmund, born in 1641, died the very ſame year; Auguſtus, born in 1633, died in 1644. Adolphus Erneſt, born in 1650, died in 1651. Philip Lewis, born in 1652, died in 1655. Henry William, born in 1653, died within the year. Their ages may be ſeen in the ſeventh genealogical table prefixed to the firſt volume.

The youngeſt of duke Adolph Frederick's children was Adolph Frederick II. born the nineteenth of October, 1658, after the deceaſe of his father. He was brought up at Grabow by his mother, under the tutelage of duke Guſtavus Adolphus; and, after her deceaſe, at Guſtrow. All he could obtain from duke Chriſtian was a little money to anſwer his preſent neceſſities; but duke Guſtavus Adolphus gave him his daughter in marriage, with Feldburg and Strelitz as a portion. This prince was afterwards inveſted with an independent ſovereignty at Strelitz; ſo that we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of him in the ſequel.

Of the princeſſes, Juliana Sybilla, born the ſixteenth of February, 1636, was, in 1694, made abbeſs of Rhunen in her ſiſter's place, purely, however, by the bounty of duke Frederick William, the princeſs having, in the mean time joined in a compact with duke Chriſtian I. by which ſhe renounced the convent. This princeſs died the ſecond of October, 1701. Chriſtina, born in 1639, on the eighth of Auguſt, was abbeſs of Gandersheim; and died the thirtieth of June 1693. Maria Elizabeth, born the twenty-fourth of March, 1646, was dean of Gandersheim; and, after the death of her ſiſter Chriſtina, promoted to be abbeſs. On the death of her ſiſter Juliana Sybilla, ſhe was for taking poſſeſſion of the convent of Rhunen by artifice, but duke Frederick William was too many for her; on which

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she applied to the high court of justice at Wetzlar; where, after a tedious suit, she obtained a decree in her favour, by which duke Frederick William was to deliver up the convent to her: thus, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1713, she died possessed of both convents. Anna Sophia, born the twenty-fourth of November, 1647, was married to duke Julius Sigismund, of Wirtemberg-Oels; and died a widow, on the thirteenth of August, 1726, in the seventy-ninth year of her age *.

* Bacmeister, Chemnitz, Pfeffel, Hubner, Spener, Nettlebladt, Beehr, Kluver, Franck, Buckholtz.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

CHRISTIAN LEWIS I.
Duke of MECKLENBURG SCHWERIN.
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,
Duke of MECKLENBURG GUSTROW,
From 1658 to 1695.

Emperors of GERMANY.

FERDINAND III.	1637
LEOPOLD	1658

Kings of ENGLAND.

CHARLES II.	1649
JAMES II.	1684
WILLIAM III.	1689

Duke Chriſtian Lewis's behaviour to his brother and to his ducheſs. Conteſts between him and the duke of Guſtrow. He pays a viſit to France, where turning Roman catholic, he is divorced from his ducheſs, and marries a French lady. He brings his new ſpouſe to Mecklenburg. His connexions with Lewis XIV. Diſputes between him and the ſtates. He quarrels with his ſecond ducheſs, and reſides moſtly in France. The duke is obliged to quit France on account of the war. Comes over to England, and ingratiates himſelf with king Charles II. Letters from that prince in his favour to the emperor and the king of Denmark. His negotiations at the treaty of Nimeguen. Extraordinary adventure of M. Roſembach. Queen Chriſtina writes to duke Chriſtian Lewis concerning a Romiſh chapel at Hamburg. He is impriſoned by order of Lewis XIV. Succeſſion of Saxe Lauenburg. Death and character of duke Chriſtian Lewis.

1658. Duke Chriſtian Lewis's behaviour to his brother.

DUKE Chriſtian Lewis was thirty-five years old when he ſucceeded to his father's dominions, which he found in a much more proſperous ſtate than they had been for many years.

His ſubjects promiſed themſelves great happineſs under his reign, as he had attained the years of maturity, acquired experience, and was poſſeſſed of ſtrong natural parts, which might have qualified him for the ſcience of government. His father had taken the greateſt care of his education, and willing that he ſhould improve by travelling, he ordered Keyſer, his privy counſellor, to attend him in a tour to the Netherlands. The young prince returned to Mecklenburg in 1643, but the duke, deſirous of his ſon's farther advancement in knowledge and polite accompliſhpliſhments, ſent him to France in 1647, where he ſtaid ſome time, and was greatly careſſed by the court of Verſailles. Duke Adolph Frederick certainly meant his ſon's advantage and improvement, but his French education did him much harm, for he contracted a diſlike to his own country, with a fondneſs for France, and imbibed the manners of that nation, their gaiety and taſte for gallantry, for which he was well fitted by his perſonal appearance, he being one of the handſomeſt men in his time: thus having no ſolid turn of mind, and being quite devoted to pleaſure, he diſappointed the expectations of his people, for whoſe happineſs he ſeemed to have but little concern, chiefly ſtudying the gratification of his paſſions, ſo as almoſt totally to neglect the important concerns of government.

No ſooner had duke Adolph Frederick breathed his laſt, than duke Chriſtian Lewis *, ſeized on all his father's dominions, contrary to the ſecond will of that prince, who had left the principality of Ratzeburg to duke Charles, and that of Schwerin to duke John George. Theſe two princes, juſtly exaſperated at this behaviour, firſt remonſtrated againſt it, then finding all their repreſentations ineffectual, reſolved to aſſert their rights by legal proceſs. The other brothers alſo became parties, as, by their father's will, if any of the elder reigning princes died without iſſue, the next in age was to ſucceed. But this me-

* We call this prince *Chriſtian Lewis* from the very beginning, though he did not take the name of *Lewis* till he became a Roman catholic, and then it was out of reſpect to his godfather Lewis XIV.

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thod of redreſs being no leſs expenſive and dilatory, than troubleſome and precarious, and the complainants in this caſe having no money but what they received from the reſpondent, who parted with it very ſparingly, it may eaſily be conceived to what ſtreights they muſt have been reduced. Indeed they often wanted the means of a decent ſubſiſtence. The conſequence was, that duke Charles and duke John George were under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to a temporary agreement, till the ſuit could be determined, and to accept a ſmall ſum of money with the commandery of Mirow. Neither of theſe two princes lived to ſee the end of the ſuit, for duke Charles died at Mirow, in 1670; and duke John George breathed his laſt in the ſame place, in 1675, ſoon after his marriage. As for duke Chriſtian Lewis's other brothers, duke Guſtavus Rodolphus was the firſt that dropped the ſuit, and came to an agreement with his elder brother at Butzow, in 1669, but did not long ſurvive it, for he died in 1670. It was not till 1681 that duke Frederick alſo ſigned an agreement, after pretty ſevere treatment from his unnatural brother. The younger brother, duke Adolph II. the ſtem of the preſent branch of Strelitz, would conſent to nothing during the life of duke Chriſtian Lewis. But, in 1694, ſome negotiations, of which we ſhall make more particular mention in the ſequel, were brought to an amicable concluſion between him and his nephew duke Frederick William, the ſon of duke Frederick, who had taken poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of Schwerin. Thus did duke Chriſtian Lewis begin his reign, not very auſpiciouſly, by trampling on his father's will, and availing himſelf of the neceſſities of his own brothers, for whom he had not the leaſt bowels of compaſſion, to deprive theſe unfortunate princes of their paternal inheritance *.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis's behaviour to his ducheſs.

It was not with his father and his brothers alone, that duke Chriſtian Lewis quarrelled. He had differences, likewiſe, with his ſpouſe, and with his couſin, duke Guſtavus Adolphus of Guſ-

* Kluver, Bacmeiſter, Chemnitz, Franck, Buckholtz.

trow. Indeed he was, in general, of ſuch an arbitrary diſpoſition, as made it difficult for the moſt moderate and diſcreet perſons to live long upon any good terms with him; though to great natural parts he had added no ſmall ſhare of learning, and many other accompliſhments becoming a prince, which ſtrange medley of good and bad qualities has given room to various judgments concerning his character. His want of filial duty to his father, which was, in all probability, one of that prince's reaſons for making a new will to his diſadvantage, and his injuſtice and cruelty to his brothers, have been already taken notice of; we ſhall now ſay ſomething of his variance with his wife and his couſin.

His wife was princeſs Chriſtina Margaret, of Meeklenburg Guſtrow; a very virtuous but unfortunate princeſs. She firſt married, in 1640, duke Albert Francis, of Saxe Lauenburg, who loſt his life in battle, in 1642. Though that prince's military abilities conſtitute the beſt part of his character he never was wanting in courteſy and affection towards his ſpouſe. In 1650, duke Chriſtian Lewis made choice of her for his conſort, but the tranquiilty of this marriage was of very ſhort duration. Conſtancy was the laſt virtue one could expect in a prince of his character; he ſoon grew tired of his wife, who paſſionately loved him, and could not bear his open infidelity to her bed: but as he was too pleaſing to be looked on with indifference, ſhe ſeverely felt the loſs of his affections. It was not more difficult for him to reſtrain his inclinations, than for the ducheſs to conceal her grief. Her reproaches and complaints turned his indifference into diſguſt, and his ill treatment changed her affliction into reſentment. All domeſtic happineſs was then baniſhed, and continual diſagreement reigned in the family. The duke now began to ſeek pretexts to quarrel with her about every thing; and, in particular, to take exceptions againſt the marriage contract, though it is very certain, that, with a ſmall ſhare of regard for her, he never could have touched upon that ſtring; his behaviour, in ſhort, was ſuch, as made it plainly appear, that nothing but a formal

formal divorce from her could ſatisfy him. However, her kind father-in-law, who knew her merit, and took her part, prevented, as long as he lived, her huſband from taking any ſuch ſtep; and the protection that prince ſo generouſly and conſtantly afforded to an innocent and deſerving lady, againſt his own ſon and ſucceſſor, may juſtly be reckoned amongſt the moſt ſtriking parts of his character. But death had no ſooner robbed her of this ſupport, than ſhe found herſelf obliged, at the very time ſhe might with any other huſband expect the moſt happineſs, to ſeek refuge with her ſiſter, princeſs Sophia Elizabeth, ſpouſe to duke Auguſtus of Wolfenbuttle; and this conduct of hers, however neceſſary, he made a pretext to move for a divorce from her in a court, which, to complete the injuſtice of the proceding, was of his own inſtitution. But the princeſs proteſted againſt the competency of this tribunal, and applying to the emperor, with the aſſiſtance of her own, and even her huſband's brothers, obtained a ſentence in her favour. The duke, however, paid no regard to it, but ſtill went on with the ſuit commenced in his own court, and brought it to the iſſue he deſired in 1663, by procuring a ſolemn ſentence of ſeparation from his conſort. What followed theſe claſhing ſentences, we ſhall relate in due time.

Conteſts between duke Chriſtian Lewis and the duke of Guſtrow.

We are now to ſpeak of the conteſts between duke Chriſtian Lewis, and his couſin german, duke Guſtavus Adolphus of Guſtrow. The principal of theſe related to the homage of the town of Roſtock. By the fundamental conſtitution of Mecklenburg, that city depends on the reigning dukes ſo conjunctly, that the paying of homage to one alone is void in itſelf. Roſtock had already, in 1654, done homage to Guſtavus Adolphus, as joint-ſovereign with the late duke Adolph Frederic. Notwithſtanding this, duke Chriſtian Lewis, in 1659, required homage to be done to him alone by that city, without the participation of duke Guſtavus Adolphus: after a good deal of altercation he, repaired, the ſame year, to Roſtock with a body of horſe, and commanded the keys of the town to be brought to him, in order to extort by force a compliance with his demands. But, before his

his orders could be obeyed, duke Guſtavus Adolphus entered the city likewiſe, with a another body of horſe, and clapped particular locks on the gates to prevent any perſon from coming in, or getting out. By this means, duke Chriſtian Lewis was obliged to leave the city, without obtaining the homage in the manner he wanted. But, as he ſtill perſiſted in his claim, however unconſtitutional, and even took ſome ſuſpicious ſteps to aſſert it by violence, duke Guſtavus Adolphus, the year following, reſolved to ſupport himſelf againſt him, by entering into a treaty for that purpoſe with Sweden. Duke Chriſtian Lewis, therefore, thought proper, in 1662, to accept of a joint homage with his couſin; and afterwards, by degrees, came to a compoſition with him on the other conteſted points; ſuch as that concerning the community of the courts of juſtice; the partition of inheritance the ſame year; and that relating to the conſiſtory of Roſtock in 1669. But that this agreement did not produce a very cordial friendſhip between the two dukes, is evident from duke Guſtavus Adolphus's renewing the alliance with Sweden, in conſequence of the ſelfiſh and obſtinate temper of his couſin*.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis receives the inveſtiture at Vienna.

In the mean time, duke Chriſtian Lewis received by proxy, at Vienna in 1659, the imperial inveſtiture over all the principalities aſſigned him; with the patents of infeofment, both for the Mecklenburg territories, and the principalities of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, which are all three dated on the 17th of June of the ſame year. Thus, he was one of the firſt princes who received an inveſtiture from the emperor Leopold, and by that very circumſtance, no doubt, very much recommended himſelf to that monarch's favour, ſo as to make ſure of a propitious arbitrator in his ſeveral diſputes with his wife and brothers. He received the homage of the nobility and the ſtates of the country at Hamburg in 1662, as appears from the writ of ſummons to the ſtates.

* Kluver, Bacmeiſter, Weſtphal, Nettebaldt, Franck, Buckholtz.

In

In 1663, the duke made a tour to France, and was ſo much taken with that country, as to reſide there the greateſt part of his life. He even, ſoon after his arrival in that kingdom, abjured the Lutheran perſuaſion to conform to the Romiſh religion, and the ceremony was publicly performed at Paris by cardinal Barberini, who afterwards confirmed him: Lewis XIV. king of France, ſtood godfather, and, at his own requeſt, called him Lewis, his firſt name being Chriſtian only. The king then conferred on him the order of the Holy Ghoſt. Soon after, the ſame cardinal Barberini declared the duke's former marriage void, by a decree of the pope, as contracted in too near a degree of conſanguinity, without his holineſs's diſpenſation; a ſentence which ſeemed effectually to quiet all that prince's ſcruples, if ever he had any, concerning a divorce: the emperor himſelf, on duke Chriſtian Lewis's marrying another wife, in conſequence of that ſentence, confirmed the legality of his ſecond match. Thus it was the misfortune of Chriſtina Margaret of Guſtrow to continue in a ſtate of repudiation, without any formal divorce, except by the pope's decree; which ſeveral have deemed liable to more objections then even that of the duke's own court. But theſe conſiderations were not ſufficient to ſupport the poor princeſs. She died in the year 1665; and it was no doubt a great comfort to her, that death came ſo ſoon to make a real and perpetual divorce between her and a huſband, who had ſhewn ſo little regard for a perſon of her merit.

He pays a viſit to France, where he turns Roman catholic.

He is divorced from his ducheſs.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis's ſecond wife was Iſabella Angelica de Montmorency Bouteville, ſiſter to the duke of Luxemburg, ſo famous in hiſtory for his military atchievements; and widow to the duke of Chatillon, of the houſe of Coligny. Several other honours, beſides that we have mentioned, were conferred on the duke by Lewis XIV; which were owing chiefly to the regard that monarch had for his lady, and to the great intereſt of his new brother-in-law; for after that nobleman's death, and the ſeparation which took place between duke Chriſtian Lewis and his new

He marries a French lady.

new conſort, the princely convert experienced a very diſagreeable alteration in the diſpoſitions of his royal godfather.

He brings his new ſpouſe to Mecklenburg.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis loſt no time in conducting his new ſpouſe to his dominions, and had divine ſervice performed, according to the Roman liturgy, at the court chapel at Schwerin. But it was only allowed for himſelf and his domeſtics of that perſuaſion; his deſign of introducing it publicly having been oppoſed by his brothers and the ſtates, who openly expreſſed their diſlike to his proceedings. The catholic worſhip at Schwerin was afterwards confined to a private houſe, and it is ſtill carried on there under that reſtriction, though only by a charter from the emperor, and contrary to the repeated and ſtrong repreſentations of the nobility and the ſtates. But, to return to the duke and his conſort; ſhe ſoon began to be out of humour with Schwerin; and, indeed, it is no way ſurpriſing, for Schwerin does not afford ſuch pleaſures as Paris; beſides, ſhe had no idea of the ſuperior dignity of a reigning German princeſs above a French ducheſs, as ſufficient to compenſate for the difference between the two places. This diſlike to Schwerin was ſoon followed by a variance between her and her huſband; the real cauſes of which, or of the ſubſequent diſlike the French king took to him, are not well known. It was, however, obſervable, that no miſunderſtanding appeared between duke Chriſtian Lewis and his conſort, till after he had brought her to Schwerin; from thence it may be concluded, that the change of reſidence had produced ſome effect upon their tempers, or that his natural moroſeneſs, being no longer under any reſtraint from the preſence of her family and friends, and particularly of the French king, he was thence induced to treat her in a manner very different from that to which ſhe had been hitherto accuſtomed. She revenged, however, by her behaviour, the treatment he had ſhewn to his firſt wife; for, without having the ſame affection for his perſon as that lady, ſhe was extravagant in her reſentment of his irregularities, which rendered their union a continual ſource of diſquiet*.

* Kluver, Backmeiſter, Chemnitz, Weſtphal, Spener.

His engagements with Lewis XIV.

WHILST duke Chriſtian Lewis enjoyed the favour of Lewis XIV. he devoted himſelf entirely to that monarch. He not only concluded a firm alliance with him in 1663, by which he put himſelf expreſsly under his protection, and promiſed the French troops a free paſſage through his country, whenever the king ſhould think proper to attack his enemies on that ſide of Germany; but, in compliance with his deſires, agreed to cede, in 1665 and 1666, to the elector of Brandenburg, his ſhare of the duchy of Mecklenburg, in exchange for that of Cleves, which Lewis had promiſed to procure him from that prince: theſe tranſactions ſhew the little regard he had either for the German empire or his own family; for ſurely the above alliance took from the ſtrength of the empire, and proportionably added to that of its natural enemy. Lewis XIV. had been, for ſome time paſt, continually urging the elector Frederick William to ſell him Cleves, but to no purpoſe, when duke Chriſtian Lewis very unexpectedly offered to make him the ceſſion above-mentioned; but the elector gave ſuch an anſwer, as the nature of the propoſal deſerved. It muſt be allowed, that whatever advantage might accrue to duke Chriſtian Lewis from this exchange, he would have paid dear enough for it, by lowering himſelf from the dignity of a German prince, and a free member of the empire, to the dependence of a vaſſal to the crown of France, as he could not pretend to be counted much better†.

Diſputes between him and the ſtates of Mecklenburg.

DUKE Chriſtian Lewis was for taking ſtill greater liberties with his own country. He would fain have moulded his ſovereignty after the form of the French government; and might have ſucceeded in his attempt, had not the provincial ſtates diligently watched his motions, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed him in every ſtep which had any tendency that way. By the peace of Weſtphalia, the ſtates of the empire were inveſted with the territorial ſovereignty of their reſpective countries; and, conſequently, with the abſolute right of providing for their defence, every clauſe

† Potter, Puffendorff, Franck, Buckholtz.

and article derogatory to ſuch ſovereignty being thereby repealed and annulled. For the Inſtrumentum Pacis expreſsly ſays, "Let "the princes and ſtates of the empire be ſo eſtabliſhed and con- "firmed in the free exerciſe of their territorial juriſdiction, as it "ſhall not be poſſible or lawful to diſturb them actually in the "poſſeſſion thereof, upon any pretext." Art. 8. And art. 17. "Againſt this tranſaction, or any article or clauſe of it, let no "laws, privileges, exemptions, or agreements, be alledged, heard, "or admitted." This fundamental conſtitution is confirmed by the capitulation of the emperors at their election; and, by a reſolution of the diet of Ratiſbon in 1654, the ſtates of the empire were allowed to impoſe a tax for the defence of their reſpective countries. This prerogative ſome ſtates, among whom was duke Chriſtian Lewis, interpreted in 1669, by the rule of the peace of Weſtphalia, that "no exception in virtue of any immemorial poſſeſ- "ſion, liberty, reſtriction, immunity, privileges, agreements, "and reverſals, ſhould be of any avail againſt it;" and inſiſted, that the taxes for the defence of their reſpective countries, and the maintenance of their troops, ſhould be conſented to by the ſtates, and augmented as the dukes Chriſtian Lewis and Guſtavus Adolphus, in particular, required. On the other hand, it was objected, that, by the peace of Weſtphalia, all the rights of the provincial ſtates were confirmed; and, it was declared, that in all places, and in all reſpects, the rights, laws, cuſtoms, and uſages, ſhould, in every country, remain on the footing they then ſtood. The queſtion now was, whether the ſtates of the empire could, at their own pleaſure, or rather according to the exigency of circumſtances, exact any additional taxes; or whether they ought not to content themſelves with their uſual revenue? In 1669, this affair was diſcuſſed in the diet of Ratiſbon, but the ſtates which aſſiſted at that aſſembly, differed in their opinion. It was, therefore, at laſt, in 1671, laid before the emperor, whoſe deciſion proved quite contrary to the claim of exacting additional taxes; nor are we to be ſurpriſed at this, ſince it is the emperor's intereſt, that the princes and ſtates of the

empire

empire ſhould be debarred from acting at pleaſure. Some writers are of opinion, that the emperor, in the decree he iſſued on this occaſion, acted on equitable and diſintereſted motives; but, it is well known, that he would not be bound by it in his own territories, though equally dependent on the empire; nay, that the critical ſituation of his affairs at that particular juncture, was alone ſufficient to make him paſs ſuch a decree, evidently appears from this circumſtance, that all the princes of the empire, who at that period were for ſuch a conſtruction of the *Inſtrumentum Pacis* and the *Act of the Empire*, were ſuſpected by him of being in the intereſt of the French. Be that as it will, ſeveral ſtates of the empire were very much diſpleaſed at this deciſion, as an infraction of the *Inſtrumentum Pacis*, which they juſtly looked upon as the ſtandard of the German conſtitution.

He concludes an alliance with ſeveral princes of the empire.

ACCORDINGLY, the electors of Cologn, Bavaria, and Brandenburg, the count Palatine of Neuburg, and duke Chriſtian Lewis, entered into an alliance for ſupporting that conſtruction of the reſolution of the Empire in 1654, and of the peace of Weſtphalia, which the emperor had condemned, though he conformed to it in his own imperial territories; and, it muſt be owned that, independent of the equity of the thing, duke Chriſtian Lewis was ſufficiently juſtified for entering into this alliance. In the year 1674, the emperor had declared war againſt France, and was joined by Spain, Denmark, Holland, and the elector of Brandenburg. The Swedes took part with the French, in conſequence of a treaty ſigned the preceding year betwixt the two crowns. In the month of December 1675, the Swediſh army invading the marquiſate of Brandenburg, with a view of making a diverſion in favour of the French, the elector being then at the head of the imperial army. In the month of June, the elector marched out of his quarters in Franconia, ſurpriſed and defeated the Swedes at Fehrbellin. This unexpected ſucceſs animated all Germany againſt the Swedes, and the emperor went to war with that crown. The king of Denmark, the dukes of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, and the biſhop of Munſter, joined with the elector of

Brandenburg, and all conſpired to ſtrip that nation of its conqueſts in Germany. Mecklenburg, from its ſituation, was expoſed to the inroads of thoſe powers, whoſe numerous troops marched through the duke's territories, according as it beſt ſuited their convenience, to the great damage of the country, which a good ſtanding army might, in ſome meaſure, have prevented. It muſt, however, be conſidered, on the other hand, that Mecklenburg was not at this time ſufficiently recovered from the calamities of the thirty years war, to raiſe the ſums that duke Chriſtian Lewis wanted, or which were ſtrictly requiſite to keep on foot an army adequate to the ends propoſed. Thus, it was impoſſible he ſhould reap from this alliance all the benefit he expected; and the emperor prevented his reaping any; for though he could not reſtrain the electors, he made the duke feel his reſentment. This prince, and his couſin of Guſtrow, thought proper, in 1672, to impoſe a poll-tax and ſome gabels on their ſubjects, under the ſpecious title of the *Circle's Wants*; but the provincial ſtates complained loudly of both courts, and the emperor put a ſtop to theſe impoſitions by a very peremptory mandate, which encouraged the ſtates in an obſtinate oppoſition to any ſubſequent exactions; ſo that not a diet paſſed without having ſome complaints preferred againſt duke Chriſtian Lewis's adminiſtration: for though he was always very ready to promiſe the immediate redreſs of their grievances, he never performed it without being compelled by the court of Vienna. However, the grievances of the ſtates increaſed under him to a degree never known before, and laid the foundation of all the ſubſequent preſſures of the country. The ſtates of Mecklenburg had alſo ſome cauſes of complaint againſt the court of Guſtrow, but they were neither ſo numerous, nor ſo weighty as thoſe againſt that of Schwerin. Such as they were, they are enumerated in the agreement of 1701, between duke Frederick William, the nobility, and the ſtates*.

* Struvius, Kluver, Franck, Buckholtz.

During

1671. He returns to France.

DURING theſe tranſactions, duke Chriſtian Lewis carried ſome troops with him to the king of France, leaving his ducheſs behind him, at Schwerin, in quality of regent; he returned in 1671, when a good harmony between them ſeemed in ſome meaſure to be reſtored. However, as ſhe did not reliſh Germany, he conducted her back to France the ſame year, and remained there moſt of the laſt one and twenty years of his life, during which he committed the government of his territories to a ſtadtholder *. Notwithſtanding this complaiſance to his lady, the differences between them aroſe to ſuch a height, that he deſerted her, and would even have even ſued for a divorce, had not the king of France interpoſed. She then preferred a complaint of relinquiſhment againſt him before the aulic council of Spire, and obtained from that tribunal a decree, by which he was condemned to allow her a yearly maintenance of four thouſand dollars.

Quarrels with his ſecond ducheſs.

He reſides moſtly in France.

DUKE Chriſtian Lewis, after the year 1672, continued almoſt wholly in France, ſeldom viſiting his native dominions. The ſtates of Mecklenburg, therefore, commenced a formal proceſs againſt him before the Aulic council, where duke Frederick of Grabow, the eldeſt of his ſurviving brothers, likewiſe ſued him for a maintenance for himſelf and family, for as yet he had not been able to obtain any thing from his unnatural brother in an amicable way. Duke Frederick, likewiſe, laid claim to one of the fees of Ratzeburg and Schwerin, as heir, by his father's will, to his two brothers, duke Charles and duke John George, the immediate claimants, who died without iſſue. Nor was this ſufficient to content his ambition; he petitioned the aulic council for the regency of the duchy of Schwerin, during the abſence of his brother duke Chriſtian Lewis, and the imperial court gave him great hopes of ſucceeding.

* His ſtadtholders were, in 1663, Frederic Bockwold; and in 1671, and the following years, general Balthazar Gebhard, both Mecklenburgh noblemen; who diſcharged their high office in a manner that does great honour to their families.

Mecklenburg harraſſed by foreign armies.

In the mean time, the war of Pomerania being grown to a great height, the troops of Denmark, Sweden, Brandenburg, and other powers concerned in the quarrel, availed themſelves of the defenceleſs condition of Mecklenburg to harraſs the country with marches and countermarches, as beſt ſuited their convenience or humour, living every where at diſcretion. But great as the evil was, duke Frederick thought he might turn it to his own private advantage, his wants being too preſſing, and his ambition too violent, to wait the ſlow deliberations of the aulic council; he, therefore, made uſe of ſome Daniſh troops, on their march through the country, to ſeize upon the town of Butzow by force, and then arrogated to himſelf not a few prerogatives, which it only became the ſovereign to exerciſe; all, however, under the colour of procuring a decent reſidence in the palace of Butzow, with a maintenance ſuitable to his rank, and of taking poſſeſſion of the regency, in hopes of its being ſooner or later adjudged to him by the aulic council; for as yet that tribunal had iſſued no decree upon this head. In whatever light the inhabitants of Butzow viewed this tranſaction, one of the burgomaſters had the misfortune to ſuffer very ſeverely in conſequence of it. A report happened ſuddenly to prevail, ſoon after duke Frederick's taking poſſeſſion of the place, that duke Chriſtian Lewis had died in France; this unhappy man too haſtily giving credit to the news, called the townſmen together, and exhorted them to accept of duke Frederick as their ſovereign; but, by order of duke Chriſtian Lewis, he paid, with his head, for his unſeaſonable credulity.

Conduct of duke Frederick.

As ſoon as duke Chriſtian Lewis heard of his brother's proceedings, he preferred a complaint againſt him, and the Danes his ſupporters; and ſo far ſucceeded, that the emperor expreſsly forbid duke Frederick to proceed any farther, and even revoked the hopes he had given him of his being appointed regent. He, likewiſe, loudly exclaimed, by his envoy at Copenhagen, againſt the ſiniſter uſe made of the Daniſh troops on the occaſion. The king of Denmark abſolutely denied his having ever given any orders for that purpoſe, and diſavowed the proceeding. But both

the emperor's indignation, and the king of Denmark's denial, are to be conſidered as mere form; neither of theſe princes having at that time any great eſteem for duke Chriſtian Lewis, whom they conſidered as a ſecret enemy, in conſequence of his profeſſing himſelf ſo openly an ally of, and, indeed, a dependent on France; a circumſtance ſufficient to account for the little good will ſhewn him by the imperial court in the affair of raiſing money for the defence of the country, and other ſervices. Accordingly, the emperor, at the ſame time, iſſued a mandatory admonition to duke Chriſtian Lewis, to withdraw from France, and return to his own dominions, as likewiſe to redreſs the complaints of his family, and of the ſtates of the province. On his refuſing to comply, his imperial majeſty gave a commiſſion to the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle for enquiring into, and redreſſing duke Frederick's complaints, with thoſe of the ſtates againſt duke Chriſtian Lewis, and the court of Guſtrow; but ſome how or other the execution of this commiſſion did not take place till the year 1684; in the mean time, duke Frederick having loſt all hopes of obtaining the regency, and duke Chriſtian Lewis ſeeing no probability of his ever having any lawful heirs, came, in 1681, to an agreement, with which duke Frederick was ſatisfied *.

He is obliged to leave France on account of the war.

It may be eaſily conceived how much the duchy of Mecklenburg muſt have ſuffered during theſe depredations by foreigners, and by diſſenſions not only in the family of its princes, but between theſe princes and their ſtates; all which duke Chriſtian Lewis might have prevented, by behaving with more temper and equity towards his brothers, and by reſiding at home. But his delight was to be out of his own country; and he had ſuch an averſion to Schwerin in particular, that though he viſited the province ſo ſeldom, he never lay a night in that city. Duke Chriſtian Lewis, however, did not confine himſelf to France. In 1676, he left that country, in conſequence of the emperor's admonition, and went over to England; but his viſit to this kingdom could ſcarce

* Potker, Struvius, Backmeiſter, Weſtphal, Kluver, Franck, Buckholtz.

give

give leſs umbrage to the emperor then his continuing in France, ſince Charles II. then king of Great Britain, notwithſtanding the peace he had concluded with the Dutch in 1674, publicly eſpouſ-
1676. ed the French intereſt. The duke made the beſt uſe of his time while he was in England; and, by the recommendation of the French monarch, and his own addreſs, ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of Charles II. as to prevail on that prince to eſpouſe his cauſe, in the diſpute then depending between him and his brother Frederick. Charles, accordingly, wrote two letters in his behalf, one to the emperor, and the other to the king of Denmark, ſtrongly recommending duke Chriſtian Lewis's intereſt to thoſe princes. The letters, which have been preſerved in the Harleian collection of MSS. the reader will find in the following note *. But it muſt be acknowledged, that duke Chriſtian Lewis, whilſt he gave too much way to his own particular humours, ſhewed himſelf a profound politician; for, by the ſeparate agreement we have mentioned, he

* *Copy of a letter from king Charles II. to the king of Denmark, in favour of Chriſtian Lewis duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin.*

CAROLUS, &c. ſereniſſimo ac potentiſſimo principi domino Chriſtiano V. eadem gratia Daniæ, &c.

Sereniſſime princeps, frater, cognate, et amice chariſſime.

Illuſtriſſimus et celſiſſimus Mecklenburgi ad Suerinum dux, bonus noſter conſanguineus, inter redeundum a Gallia ad ducatum ſuum, præſentia ſua nos dignatus, lites quaſdam inter ipſum, ipſiuſque fratrem minorem principem Fredericum de juribus quibuſdam ad domum illam ſpectantibus nuperrime exortas narrat, inque iiſdem provehendis fratrem ſuum ſupradictum quibus poterit rationibus, majeſtatem veſtram in partem ſuam adducturum ſuſpicatur: cumque ea quæ uterque intendit, non niſi domeſtica videantur, nec lites eas publicas per orbem jam agitatas, eas præſertim quæ majeſtatem veſtram tangunt, ullâ ex parte reſpiceant, facile inducimur, dicti conſanguinei noſtri rogatu, res ejus ac jura omnia, quatenus in ipſum poſſint cadere, ut quam ſerio per litteras haſce noſtras commendemus, præſertim autem ut dicti conſanguinei noſtri fratri ſupramemorato in litibus iſtis domeſticis provehendis neutiquam adeſſe aut favere dignetur, uti pro communibus iis ſanguinis amicitiæque vinculis, quibus domui veſtræ obſtringimur, noſtrâ intereſt: de cætero majeſtatem veſtram Dei optimi maximi tutelæ commendamus. Dabantur in palatio noſtro de Whitehall, 12 die Julii A. D. 1676. regnique noſtri 28.

Majeſtatis veſtræ bonus frater, cognatus, et amcius,

CAROLUS R.

Copy

diſſolved the connection between his brother and the ſtates; and afterwards found means to fruſtrate the effects of the imperial commiſſion againſt himſelf. It was not carried into execution till the year 1684, and laſted till 1686. During this interval, the complaints of the ſtates againſt the dukes of Schwerin and Guſtrow, were laid before the commiſſioners, and the former delivered in his anſwers to them; but all his anſwers did not come under deliberation; and thus the affair was ſuperſeded, eſpecially as both princes objected againſt the ſentence of the commiſſion *.

Duke Chriſtian's negociation at the treaty of Nimeguen.

DUKE Chriſtian Lewis did not make any long ſtay in England: a congreſs had been opened at Nimeguen in 1675, to ſettle a peace between the belligerent powers; and as the duchy of Mecklenburg

Copy a letter from king Charles II. to the emperor, in favour of the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin.

CAROLUS II. &c. potentiſſimo et invictiſſimo principi et domino, domino Leopoldo divina favente clementia, Romanorum imperatori ſemper Auguſto, Germaniæ, Hungariæ, &c. fratri conſanguineo, et amico noſtro chariſſimo, ſalutem perpetuamque felicitatem.

Sereniſſime, potentiſſime, et invictiſſime princeps, frater, conſanguinee, et amice chariſſime.

Ab illuſtriſſimo et celſiſſimo Mecklenburgi ad Suerinum duce, bono conſanguineo noſtro, qui inter redeundum ad ducatum ſuum præſentiâ ſuâ nos dignatus eſt, lites quaſdam inter ipſum, ipſiuſque fratrem minorem principem Fredericum de juribus quibuſdam domeſticis exortas accepimus, in quibus dictus conſanguineus noſter princeps regens fratrem ſuum Cæſaream veſtram majeſtatem, ut ipſi aliquo modo faveat, adducturum ſuſpicatur; cumque differentiæ hæ domeſticæ ſint, atque ad jura ipſorum privata ſpectent, nec lites illas publicas in eâ mundi plagâ jam agitatas ullâ ex parte reſpiciant, viſum nobis eſt pro ſanguinis amicitiæque vinculis, quibus domui iſtæ obſtringimur, apud Cæſaream veſtram majeſtatem officia noſtra interponere, ipſamque rogatam habere, ut non ſolum ſupra memorato principi fratri minori in litibus iſtis domeſticis (quas promovere, uti aiunt, ſtudet) neutiquam adeſſe aut favere dignetur, verum etiam pro imperiali ſua dignitate et authoritate ſolitam ſuam juſtititiam in dicti conſanguinei noſtri gratiam exercere, ipſique protectione ſua contra fratris uſurpationem conceſſa, nobili et illuſtri huic imperii membro priſtinam reddere unionem et tranquillitatem, id quod à Cæſarea veſtra majeſtate quam ſerio expetimus atque ſperamus, uti noſtra pro ſanguinis et neceſſitudinis vinculo, quod inter nos dictamque domum intercedit, etiam intereſt. De cætero Cæſaream veſtram majeſtratem divino tutamini ex animo commendamus. Dabam (ut ſupra) 5 die Aug. A. D. 1676. regnique noſtri 28.

Cæſareæ veſtræ majeſtatis amantiſſimus frater et conſanguineus.

CAROLUS R.

* Potker, Struvius, Kluver, Bacmeiſter.

had greatly ſuffered from both parties in their marching through the country, he was reſolved to ſend a deputy to that aſſembly in order to ſolicit a reparation of damages. For this purpoſe, it was neceſſary for him to return to Mecklenburg with a view of making a better inquiry into the outrages and violences committed by the different troops, and to form a proper eſtimate of the loſſes he and his ſubjects had ſuſtained. He arrived at Hamburg in the autumn of 1676, and from thence wrote a long epiſtle * to king Charles II. returning his majeſty thanks for the kind reception he met with in England, and begging he would recommend the intereſts of Mecklenburg to the Engliſh miniſters at Nimeguen, in order that he might obtain ſatisfaction from the ſeveral belligerent powers for the damage done to his country. The preceding Auguſt Guſtavus Adolphus, duke of Mecklenburg Guſtrow, wrote a letter in French, of the ſame tenor, to his Britannic majeſty, deſiring farther, that a ſtop might be put to the toll which the Swedes had arbitrarily eſtabliſhed at Warnemunde; the following is a tranſlation of that letter:

SIRE,

HAVING been informed that your majeſty has undertaken, at the requeſt of the princes and ſtates that have been entangled in theſe deſtructive wars, to be a mediator of all their differences, I have felt a very great joy and ſatisfaction at the intelligence, being fully perſuaded, that you will take care, agreeably to your wonted prudence and generoſity, that juſtice be done to all parties. This obliges me to take the liberty of acquainting your majeſty, that I happen to be unfortunately intereſted in the negociations carrying on at Nimeguen, becauſe ever ſince the allies of the empire declared themſelves againſt Sweden, my country has been continually at the mercy of foreign armies, that have marched and countermarched through it without intermiſ-

* This epiſtle is dated October 5, 1676, ſoon after his arrival at Hamburg; it is written in Latin, and preſerved in the Harleian collection of MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, N°. 1515.

ſion,

ſion, and demanded contributions for their ſubſiſtence, ſo that the whole province is irrecoverably ruined. The emperor and the diet of Ratiſbon having maturely conſidered what I have now been repreſenting to your majeſty, acknowledge it is but juſt I ſhould be indemnified, and have ſatisfaction done me for the aforeſaid injuries. This, I thought proper to hint to your majeſty, begging you will be ſo good as to eſpouſe my intereſts, and to give orders that your ambaſſadors at Nimeguen permit my agents, who ſhall be there ſhortly, to have acceſs to them, and be careful to ſecond any propoſal they may make, for my obtaining ſome indemnity for the damage I have ſuffered. In this, your majeſty, will infinitely oblige him who makes the ſtrongeſt profeſſion of being, whilſt he breathes, with the utmoſt reſpect,

Sire, Your majeſty's

Moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, duke of Mecklenburg *.

DUKE Chriſtian Lewis having taken this preparatory ſtep with the king of England, ſent his deputy, M. Beſſel, an able and expert negociator, to the congreſs at Nimeguen in 1677, and gave him a letter, dated from Hamburg, December 1, 1677, for Sir Lionel Jenkins, the Britiſh ambaſſador, recommending his deputy, together with his intereſt, to the care of that miniſter. M. Beſſel delivered his credentials to Sir Lionel on the twenty-firſt of January, 1678, N.S. with the claims and pretenſions of the duke, his maſter, ſet forth in a long memorial. Whether any attention was paid to theſe repreſentations, I find nowhere mentioned, but the treaty of Nimeguen was ſigned on the fifth of February, 1679, and the emperor engaged by a particular treaty with Sweden to procure that crown the reſtoration of the ſeveral territories of which it had been ſtripped by the northern allies †.

* From the Harleian collection of MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum.

† The papers relating to M. Beſſel's negociations are to be ſeen in the Harleian collection of MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum.

1677. Extraordinary adventure of M. Roſembach at a ſmall town in Mecklenburg.

DURING theſe negociations happened a very extraordinary adventure to M. Roſembach, miniſter from the celebrated queen Chriſtina to the court of Stockholm, who had the misfortune of being extremely ill uſed, even to the riſk of his life, at a ſmall town in Mecklenburg. The beſt account of this affair is in the following letter from Roſembach himſelf to Texeira, the queen's reſident at Hamburg.

SIR,

To ſhew my earneſt inclination to obey the commands of the queen, our miſtreſs, I ſet out from Bauhoff, though indiſpoſed, with an intent of reaching Hamburg before the arrival of his excellency the ambaſſador extraordinary. The journey did me a great deal of good, for the fever left me, and my appetite returned. Every thing went on according to my wiſhes; I was, moreover, happy in my brother's company, and with the pleaſing expectation of quickly ſeeing my beſt friend, at the ſame time that I was diſcharging my duty, in obedience to her majeſty's commands. But, upon my arrival at a little town in Mecklenburg *, within five leagues of Lubeck, where I was obliged to lie that night, my brother and I met with a dreadful and almoſt incredible misfortune. The particulars of the affair are as follow: In the ſaid town were quartered twenty troopers, among whom I found two of my valets, who had quitted my ſervice without leave, whom I reprimanded firſt, and then gave them two or three blows with my fiſt, as they were ſubjects of the queen our miſtreſs. Upon which, the other troopers got together, and being very much in liquor, would fain have forced themſelves into our inn; but my brother and I vigorouſly repulſed them. This affair would have had no other conſequence, if an hour after the burghers had not returned to town in a body, after firing, by way of diverſion, at a mark, all egregiouſly fuddled. At this unlucky juncture, two troopers came before our door to inſult us. I had then my ſword in my

* M. Roſembach does not mention the name of the town, but, by the diſtance, I take it to be Greveſmuhlen.

right:

right hand, and my piſtol in the left; which, as I preſented it at one of the fellows, went off, without hurting him; nor was that indeed my intention. Upon hearing the report of the piſtol, the intoxicated burghers, inflamed with the higheſt rage, broke open the door, and burſt into the room where I was, declaring loudly they had a right to put me to death, for having dared to fire a piſtol in their town. All my remonſtrances were thrown away upon theſe drunkards. There were, however, ſome few of them who liſtened to reaſon; and whilſt I was endeavouring to conciliate their friendſhip, one of thoſe villains fired a piſtol at me, which ſhot me in the breaſt, and I fell to the ground. But God would have it, that the wound was not mortal, the ball entering under my left nipple, and having grazed the rib, lodged in the concavity of my left arm. After I had fallen, another ruffian gave me ſeveral dreadful blows on the head, ſo that I was quite ſtunned, and had no longer any expectation of life. My brother, who was endeavouring to appeaſe another gang that ſurrounded him, was wounded in three different places in the head. The infernal rage of thoſe demons laſted three hours, and they began to talk of plundering our baggage. My wounds are ſo dangerous, that it is impoſſible for me to ſet out for Hamburg till I am cured. This morning I had a touch of a fever; and, if God does not grant me his aſſiſtance, my life is in great danger. Still, I have hopes, that I ſhall get the better of this diſaſter in three weeks time. I beg you will aſſure his excellency, the ambaſſador extraordinary, of my reſpects and obedience, begging him to take compaſſion on my misfortune. With which I remain,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

Lubeck, June 9, 1677. B. de ROSEMBACH.

M. ROSEMBACH, at the ſame time, wrote to queen Chriſtina, humbly entreating her majeſty to intereſt herſelf in the affair, and to apply to the duke of Mecklenburg for ſatisfaction. But the queen anſwered him, that ſhe had particular reaſons which pre-

vented her from complying with his requeſt: for, in her letter to him of the ſeventeenth of September, 1677, ſhe ſays, "By your letter from Hamburg of the twenty-fourth ult. I have received as great pleaſure in hearing of your recovery, as I felt grief and concern at your misfortune; but to write to duke Chriſtian Lewis, is what I cannot reſolve to do, having particular reaſons which prevent my taking ſuch a ſtep. If he has any regard for me, he will puniſh thoſe who have ſo groſsly injured you, without my appearing in the affair. Do your duty, and God proſper you." What was the conſequence of this affair, and whether the delinquents were ever puniſhed, I find no where mentioned.

Queen Chriſtina writes to duke Chriſtain Lewis concerning a Romiſh chapel at Hamburg.

TOWARDS the end of the preceding year, 1676, we meet with a letter from queen Chriſtina to duke Chriſtian Lewis, upon a matter relating to religion. The queen had been poſſeſſed of a palace at Hamburg, in which the magiſtrates of that city allowed her majeſty the liberty of having a chapel, with the free exerciſe of the Roman Catholic religion. During the war between Sweden and the allies, her majeſty's domains were ruined; in conſequence thereof, the queen being no longer able to maintain the chaplains, the Catholic worſhip ceaſed, and the palace was ſold to the duke of Mecklenburg. The queen thereupon wrote to his highneſs, gently rebuking him for not continuing the chapel, and the exerciſe of the Catholic religion, to which he himſelf had been a convert. The letter is as follows:

COUSIN, December 19. 1676.

YOUR behaviour, though ſo very extraordinary, is ſtill, in ſome meaſure, agreeable to me, on account of the confidence you expreſs in my friendſhip, in which you are certainly not miſtaken; but, as you have laid aſide all forms, I will do the ſame, and forgive you, hoping, that as you are a Catholic prince, you will reſtore and maintain the exerciſe of our holy religion in that houſe, which the miſtunes of Sweden have obliged me to part with. In the mean time, I am pleaſed with the idea that you will make

ſo

so glorious a use of that house; and beg you will excuse my resident Texeira, if he has not been so complaisant to you as you could wish, since he has done his duty on this, as on all other occasions, where my interest has been concerned, and I am obliged to approve of his conduct; but, I have thought proper to command him to assure you that, I am,

Your affectionate cousin, and sincere friend.

CHRISTINA *.

CONSIDERING the great importance of well inhabited and trading towns to every state, we must not omit mentioning a heavy misfortune, which happened during duke Christian Lewis's reign; namely, that two of the chief towns of Mecklenburg had the misfortune of being laid in ashes. The first was Sternberg, in 1659; the second, Rostock, in 1667. Sternberg was the town in which, according to the Reversalia, the chief court of judicature was constantly to be held, and it suffered too much by this fire for any business to be done in it without very considerable repairs, which the circumstances of the times did not allow of; the court was, therefore, with the unanimous consent of the states, removed to Parchim. It was some time before duke Christian Lewis would assent to the re-establishment of this court after the fire; that is, on the footing of the agreement between the states of Mecklenburg and the duke of Gustrow, both which, at the very beginning of his reign, had preferred a complaint against him to the aulic council; which, in consequence thereof, issued, in 1661, a mandate for the re-establishment of that tribunal. But duke Christian Lewis found means to elude complying with this mandate, till duke Gustavus Adolphus, taking the affair vigorously in hand, brought him, at length, to a treaty in 1666 †. The consequence of this treaty was, that duke Christian Lewis obeyed the mandate of re-establishment the year following.

The towns of Sternberg and Rostock consumed by fire.

1684. In 1684, duke Christian Lewis fell under the displeasure of his godfather, the French king, by whose order he was arrested on

Duke Christain Lewis imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes.

* Arckenholtz Memoires concernant Christine Reine de Suede, tom. iii.

† See Westphal. Diplom. tom. iv. &c

the

the twenty-fifth of June, and confined in the royal caſtle of Vincennes. The cauſe aſſigned for this impriſonment is, that he would not gratify his majeſty, agreeably to a treaty formerly concluded between them, by admitting Daniſh troops into Domitz. But as this was out of his power, that place being garriſoned by the troops of Zell; his refuſing to be reconciled with his ducheſs, at the king's particular deſire, ſeems to have been the real motive of his diſgrace. He was releaſed ſoon after, at the requeſt of the king of Denmark, and the elector of Brandenburg, but upon what conditions I do not find mentioned. This treatment, however, ſeems to have cured him of his fondneſs for France, and rendered him more diſpoſed to quit that kingdom, upon the breaking out of the war in 1689, between France and the empire*.

1688. Death of duke Frederick.

In 1688, duke Frederick, fourth brother of duke Chriſtian Lewis, departed this life on the twenty-third of April, at Grabow, where he conſtantly reſided, and from whence he took his name. He had married Chriſtina Wilhelmina, daughter of William Chriſtopher landgrave of Heſſe Bingerheim, by whom he had three ſons, Frederick William, Charles Leopold, and Chriſtian LewisII. and one daughter Sophia Louiſa, married to the king of Pruſſia, of all whom we ſhall treat more particularly in the ſequel.

1689. The duke is diſappointed of the ſucceſſion of SaxeLawenberg.

The ſucceeding year the duke of Saxe Lawenburg died without heirs, in conſequence of which duke Chriſtian Lewis, and duke Guſtavus Adolphus of Guſtrow, laid a joint claim to his territories. A war breaking out the ſame year between the emperor and France, duke Chriſtian Lewis thought proper to withdraw from that kingdom; the emperor having intimated to him his diſpleaſure, that ſo conſiderable a member of the Germanic body ſhould reſide at the court of his public enemy. However, it does not appear, that it was either in conſequence of that war, or of the behaviour of the king of France, that he left that country. He apprehended that a longer ſtay among the enemies of

* Kluver, Franck, Buckholtz.

Germany,

Germany, might hurt him in the proſecution of the Mecklenburg claims to the Lawenburg ſucceſſion before the German tribunals, by which alone the affair could be decided. But, inſtead of returning home in this exigency, he withdrew to the Hague, where he continued to his death, and led a very private life. He uſed often to amuſe himſelf with the captain of a ſhip, who was a native of Amſterdam: one day, the honeſt ſkipper, charmed with the duke's familiar and eaſy behaviour, ſaid to him, after a good deal of chat; "You are a very handſome "man, and it is great pity you are not a burgomaſter of Amſter-"dam." The duke was diverted with the ſimplicity of the ſkipper, who held the poſt of burgomaſter in his own town in higher eſteem than the dignity of a prince of the empire. To return to the Lawenburg affair: the duke was no more able, than his couſin of Guſtrow, to make good his claim to that opulent ſucceſſion; the great number of competitors in that ſuit, rendering it inextricably perplexed, as every ſingle competitor formed an obſtacle againſt all the reſt. What the iſſue of this complicated affair was, we have already mentioned. We muſt add, however, that this iſſue cannot be deemed final. Many of the claimants, the houſe of Mecklenburg in particular, have not relinquiſhed their pretenſions to the Lawenberg ſucceſſion; and it is not improbable, that in the courſe of time, this ſucceſſion may prove a ſource of violent contention between two illuſtrious families.

Death and character of duke Chriſtian Lewis.

In 1692, duke Chriſtian Lewis departed this life without iſſue, on the eleventh of June, at the Hague, where he had reſided ever ſince the breaking out of the war between the emperor and France. He was 69 years of age, of which he had reigned 34. He died very rich, being a great œconomiſt, notwithſtanding his conſtant purſuit of pleaſures; and appointed duke Frederick William, eldeſt ſon of his brother duke Frederick, his heir. Duke Frederick dying in 1688, at Grabow, duke Chriſtian Lewis took care of prince Frederick William, and cauſed him to be removed to Schwerin on the twelfth of July, 1690, where he eſtabliſhed a houſhold for him, and allowed him a generous maintenance.

Thus he ſeemed, at length, to repent the ſevere treatment which he had ſhewn to that prince's father, and to the reſt of his brothers. Upon the whole, he ſeems to have been one of the moſt extraordinary characters of the age. He was of a diſpoſition extremely amorous, but volatile and inconſtant in his affections; he was generous, yet an œconomiſt; ſupremely devoted to his own will, yet polite and obliging to the laſt degree. We have already mentioned the advantage of his perſon, and this perhaps was the main ſource of his irregularities; for it was difficult for any woman, if not armed with the ſevereſt virtue, when he paid his addreſſes to her, to look upon him with an eye of indifference. He had a moſt pleaſing turn of converſation; and made up the want of deep erudition, by that kind of learning which is agreeable, ſtriking, and entertaining; he was poſſeſſed of a fund of wit, that rendered him the delight of all who converſed with him. He was fond of the company of learned men, and by the ſtrength and quickneſs of his parts, together with a competent knowledge of polite literature, rendered himſelf no leſs pleaſing to them. He was magnificent on ſeveral occaſions, delighted in conferring favours, and beſtowed them with ſuch grace, that the manner of giving charmed equally with the gift. But he wanted many of thoſe eſſential qualities, which alone can procure ſolid happineſs. He was deficient in prudence, and ſtill more ſo in morals. His religion was merely outward ſhew, and paſſion was the guide of his actions. He died unlamented, the natural conſequence of his imprudent conduct: his abjuration of proteſtantiſm, his treatment of his firſt wife, and of his brothers, his differences with the ſtates, his diſlike to his own country, and many other cauſes, had alienated the affection of his people, ſo that his memory is held in no veneration by the inhabitants of Mecklenburg.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis's dowager made ſome claims after his death, in which ſhe was ſupported by the king of France. But the influence of that monarch could be of little ſervice to her during the war which then raged between France and the empire;

pire; and ſhe did not live to ſee an end of it. Some of her relations indeed proſecuted her claims after her deceaſe, and even laid them before the congreſs of Ryſwick in 1697; but we have not heard that the houſe of Mecklenburg ever made them any conceſſions. The conteſt between the branches of Schwerin and Strelitz ſtill continuing, afforded both parties a ſpecious pretence for eluding all their ſollicitations*.

* Bacmeiſter, Weſtphal, Kluver, Hubner, Spener, Nettlebladt, Franck, Buckholtz.

CHAP. IV.

FREDERICK WILLIAM
DUKE of MECKLENBURG SCHWERIN.
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,
DUKE of MECKLENBURG GUSTROW,

From 1692 to 1713.

EMPERORS of GERMANY.

LEOPOLD - - - -	1658
JOSEPH I. - - - -	1705
CHARLES VI. - - - -	1711

KINGS of ENGLAND.

WILLIAM III. - - - -	1689
QUEEN ANNE - - -	1702

Duke Frederick William ſucceeds his uncle. Conteſt between duke Frederick William and duke Adolph Frederick II. concerning the ſucceſſion. They come to an agreement in 1694. *Death of duke Guſtavus Adolphus. His marriage and iſſue. Conteſt about the ſucceſſion of Guſtrow. Agreement at Hamburg in* 1701. *Origin of the preſent two ducal ſovereignties, Schwerin and Strelitz. Diſpute between duke Frederick William and the ſtates. Agreement of* 1701. *The duke of Strelitz diſpleaſed with this agreement. The king of Pruſſia marries the ſiſter of duke Frederick William. Hamburg agreement in* 1712. *Diſpute about the Leuchtenberg ſucceſſion. Conteſt between duke Frederick William and his brothers. Mecklenburg ſuffers by foreign armies. Death and character of duke Frederick William.*

Duke Frederick William ſucceeds his uncle duke Chriſtian Lewis.

UPON the death of duke Chriſtian Lewis, the duchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin devolved to Frederick William, the eldeſt ſon of his brother duke Frederick of Grabow. This prince was born at Schwerin, on the 28th of March, 1675. He was endowed with great accompliſhments, was of a moſt amiable

and gracious diſpoſition, and ſeemed formed to make a country happy; yet his reign was embittered with continual diſputes and inteſtine variances, which proved an obſtacle both to his own and to his people's felicity. His firſt conteſt was with his uncle duke Adolph Frederick II. who entered a proteſt againſt his taking poſſeſſion of duke Chriſtian Lewis's territories, and diſputed the ſucceſſion with him. This affair was of ſuch conſequence to the hiſtory of this ſerene family, that we muſt enter into a detail of it.

Conteſt between duke Frederick William and duke Adolph Frederick II. about the ſucceſſion.

THE neareſt relations to duke Chriſtian Lewis were the three ſons of his brother Frederick, duke of Grabow, Frederick William, Charles Leopold, and Chriſtian Lewis II. together with his only ſurviving brother Adolph Frederick II. The latter had been continally at variance with duke Chriſtian Lewis, on account of their father's will; but, the father of the three former had come to an agreement with him, as we have already obſerved, in 1681; and he himſelf treated the eldeſt of them, duke Frederick William, as his ſucceſſor, and had him educated at Schwerin. As he was on the ſpot, he immediately took poſſeſſion of the inheritance. This, however, was conteſted by duke Adolph Frederick II. who inſiſted on a ſhare of that fair patrimony; at leaſt, to the ſucceſſion of the principality of Ratzeburg.

THE ground of this conteſt was the conſanguinity of both parties with regard to duke Chriſtian Lewis. Duke Frederick of Grabow, father to Frederick William, was his elder brother, but deceaſed. Duke Adolph Frederick II. was the younger brother, but ſtill living. Thus, duke Frederick William was indeed a line nearer, but in the ſecond degree; whereas, duke Adolph Frederick, though of the younger line, was in the firſt degree. The former pretended a ſole right to the ſucceſſion, the latter only a joint right; the former by primogeniture, which two of their anceſtors had eſtabliſhed by will; but the other, by the right of partition, which had been uſual in the ducal houſe from time immemorial, and inforced by the laſt will of duke Adolph Frederick I. Both parties had inſtances in other princely

princely families in their favour, but a conſiderable advantage on duke Frederick William's ſide, was his having inſtantly taken poſſeſſion; a ſtep approved of by the emperor, who, in 1693, inveſted him with the duchy of Mecklenburg, and the two principalities of Schwerin and Ratzeburg. As it was apprehended, that duke Adolph Frederick would endeavour to ſupport his claim by force, though it is very uncertain whether he ever entertained any ſuch thought, Butzow was fortified, and other preparatives made for defence, but they were quiet unneceſſary, and only ſerved to multiply the grievances of the ſtate.

Agreement of 1694.

However, in 1694, an accommodation was ſo far effected, by the mediation of the biſhop of Lubeck, as imperial commiſſary, that duke Frederick William remained in poſſeſſion, upon reſigning to duke Adolph Frederick II. the commandery of Mirow, with a ſum of money by way of appanage. Duke Adolph Frederick had before received from his father-in-law, duke Guſtavus Adolphus, the diſtricts of Felberg and Strelitz, and enjoyed the revenues of them during the conteſts between his brother and nephew *.

Death of duke Guſtavus Adolphus. His marriage and iſſue.

In the year 1695, died, alſo without iſſue, duke Guſtavus Adolphus of Guſtrow, a religious, wiſe, and learned prince, and a true father of his country. In 1654, he married Magdalena Sybilla, daughter of duke Frederick of Holſtein Gottorp, by whom he had two ſons and nine daughters; the ſons were, John XII. and Charles III. but both died before their father: the daughters were, Eleonora, Maria, Magdalena, Sophia, Chriſtina, Hedwig Eleonora, Louiſa, Elizabeth, and Auguſta.

The ducheſs dowager Magdalena Sybilla, lived to the year 1719, when ſhe died in a very advanced age at Guſtrow. Prince John XII. born in 1655, died in 1660; prince Charles was the only hope of the Guſtrow line; he was born in 1664, and in 1687 married Maria Amelia, daughter to Frederick William the Great, elector of Brandenburg, but died in 1688, to the inexpreſſible grief of his father, and the whole country. His widow was

* Kluver, Hubner, Ungnaden, Franck, Buckholtz.

married

married again in 1689, to Maurice William of Saxe Zeitz, and after becoming a widow a ſecond time in 1718, died at Schleuſingen in 1739. Of duke Guſtavus Adolphus's daughters, Eleonora was born in 1657, and died in 1672. Maria, born in 1658, was, in 1684, married to Adolph Frederick II. duke of Strelitz, and died in 1701. Magdalena, born in 1660, died in 1702. Sophia, who was born in 1662, in 1701 married Chriſtian Ulric, duke of Wurtenberg Oels; in 1704, became a widow, and died in 1738. Chriſtina, born in 1663, was married, in 1683, to Count Lewis of Stolberg; and died a widow in the year 1747. Hedwig Eleonora, was born in 1666; in 1686, was married to Auguſtus, duke of Sax-Zorbig; became a widow in 1715, and died in 1737. Louiſa, born in 1667, was married to Frederick IV. king of Denmark, in 1695, and died in 1721; ſhe was grandmother to the late king of Denmark, Frederick V. Elizabeth, born in 1668, was married, in 1692, to Henry duke of Saxe-Merſeburg, then at Spremberg, and died in 1738, in the ſame year, and the very ſame week as her huſband. Auguſta, born in 1674, was living in 1753 at Dargun, but when ſhe died I have not been informed.

Conteſt concerning the ſucceſſion of Guſtrow.

THE death of duke Guſtavus Adolphus ſuperſeded all former conventions between the dukes of Schwerin and Strelitz; who, both from the ſame grounds on which they had claimed the ſucceſſion of Schwerin, now became competitors for the territories of Guſtrow.

DUKE Frederick William again grounded himſelf on the primogeniture of his line, but duke Adolph Frederick proceeded on his near conſanguinity, and the partition; to the laſt of which duke Guſtavus Adolphus had bound himſelf; and, a little before his death, had applied for the emperor's ſanction. On his deceaſe, duke Adolph Frederick might eaſily have put himſelf in poſſeſſion, being then at Guſtrow; but, apprehending it might occaſion inteſtine commotions, to his eternal honour, he forbore, and left the proceſs to take its courſe. At the beginning of this ſuit, duke Frederick William found the advantage of the emperor's favour. In

January

January 1697*, the aulic council decreed the poſſeſſion to duke Frederick William of Schwerin, who alſo obtained the patent of infeofment for Guſtrow; whilſt the duke of Strelitz was allowed only to proſecute his cauſe by way of petition. The emperor, alſo, immediately ſent count Eck, as commiſſary, to take poſſeſſion of Guſtrow, and place duke Frederick William in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, which was done accordingly: nay, troops were already aſſembled in Sileſia, with orders to march into Mecklenburg, and, at all events, lay the country under ſequeſtration till the iſſue of the proceſs. Duke Frederick William being ſettled in the ſovereignty of Guſtrow, immediately cauſed homage to be paid him by the nobility and ſtates of the country; at the ſame time, confirming them in their privileges. But the directors of the circle of Lower Saxony, namely, Sweden, on account of Bremen; the elector of Brandenburg, on account of Magdeburg; and the elector of Brunſwick, conceiving this to be a violation of their juriſdiction, ſent a body of the circular troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Klinkowſtrom; at the ſame time, ſignifying to duke Frederick and count Eck, to relinquiſh their poſſeſſion, the right of ſequeſtration appertaining only to the circle of Lower Saxony; but, on count Eck's refuſal, Klinkowſtrom, who, in the mean time, made himſelf maſter of Guſtrow, cauſed the count to be removed from the palace in an elbow chair. The emperor was extremely irritated at this behaviour, yet the directors of the circle, in a manifeſto, aſſerted their right in very ſtrong terms; but, at laſt, by the mediation of England and Holland, it was agreed, that the directors ſhould exculpate themſelves to his imperial majeſty, and lay the blame on Klinkowſtrom, as having gone beyond his orders; in conſequence of which, to ſave appearances, he was broke, and enjoined to aſk count Eck's pardon; but he was not long without employ and preferment, being ſoon after taken into the Swediſh ſervice, and made a general officer. In the mean time, the emperor and the circle jointly, inſtituted an intermediate regency at Guſtrow; notwithſtanding

* This ſame year the peace of Ryſwick was ſigned between the emperor and France, on the 30th of October.

which

which, duke Frederick William ſeems to have kept poſſeſſion. The proceſs was alſo going on, and probably would not have been ſoon terminated, had not the emperor iſſued a commiſſion to enquire into the diſpute, and bring it to a compromiſe. It was opened at Hamburg in 1698; when the commiſſaries appeared to be, the King of Denmark, as duke of Holſtein, the duke of Brunſwick, and the biſhop of Lubeck; count Eck alſo aſſiſting in the emperor's name: at length, by the prudence and aſſiduity of the commiſſioners, the two dukes were brought to an agreement, in 1701, on the following terms: Duke Frederick William had the duchy of Mecklenburg, the principality of Schwerin, the principality of Wenden, all *cum voto et ſeſſione* at the diets; the county of Schwerin, and the lordſhip of Roſtock. On the other hand, to duke Adolph Frederick II. were aſſigned the principality of Ratzeburg, *cum voto et ſeſſione*, at the diet; the lordſhip of Stargard, with the full ſovereignty of a prince; the two commanderies of Mirow and Nemerow, together with nine thouſand dollars, payable annually out of the produce of the Boitzenburg toll, and eight thouſand dollars towards building a new palace. At the ſame time, it was again enacted, with regard to both lines, that the right of ſucceſſion ſhould be annexed to primogeniture; that, in caſe of extinction, one line ſhould ſucceed the other; alſo, that ſhould there be more lines than one ſubſiſting at ſuch extinction, the preference to be veſted in the elder. What before was common, was alſo now left in the ſame ſtate, as the nobility, the city of Roſtock, the high court of judicature, the conſiſtory, the provincial cheſt, the diet, &c. though, concerning theſe articles, many particulars were left undecided, and conſequently ſubject to diſpute. It is ſaid, that the privy counſellor Petkum induced duke Adolph Frederick II. to cloſe with this convention, though, in the courſe of law, the concluſion very probably would have proved more advantageous. Petkum had formerly been in the ſervice of the king of Denmark and the prince of Eaſt Frieſland; duke Adolph Frederick engaged him about the year 1698; and, repoſing a great confidence in his new miniſter, employed him in

this negociation at Hamburg, inſtead of the privy counſellor Gutzmar, and the court counſellor Knegendorf, who had been previouſly appointed. He perſuaded his maſter, who was preſent at Hamburg, to ſign the agreement; which he did on the 8th of March, 1701, though ſome of the commiſſioners, particularly Fabricius, privy counſellor of Zell, adviſed him not to precipitate matters, a courier being on the way from Vienna with determinations intirely to his advantage. And, accordingly, within two hours after ſigning the convention, arrived the emperor's order for putting duke Adolph Frederick in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of Guſtrow; but the agreement being ſigned, there was no receding. If this account be true, we are no longer at a loſs for the chief cauſe of the diſgrace of this miniſter, which, in 1704, was followed by his diſmiſſion; whereupon he went into the ſervice of the duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin*.

Agreement of Hamburg in 1701.

Origin of the two ducal ſovereignties, Schwerin and Strelitz.

Such was the origin of the two ſovereignties in Mecklenburg, that of Schwerin, at the head of which was duke Frederick William; and that of Strelitz, under duke Adolph Frederick. All matters of weight, even in the Guſtrow precinct, together with its court of judicature, and the regency office there, remained, as before, dependent on duke Frederick William. But the principality of Ratzeburg being now ſeparated from the territories of Schwerin, and the lordſhip of Stargard from thoſe of Guſtrow, and given ſolely to duke Adolph Frederick, this prince found it unavoidably neceſſary to caſt his ſovereignty into a new mould. Strelitz he made his place of reſidence, whilſt New Brandenburg was the ſeat of the regency. The firſt preſident of the ducal office of regency at New Brandenburg, was the above-mentioned counſellor Petkum; but, in 1704, he was diſplaced, as hath been already mentioned, and certainly for weighty cauſes; the office being, at the ſame time, removed to Strelitz. He was ſucceeded by M. Rauchbar, who diſcharged that poſt with great reputation. After him, it has been filled by Mr. Scheven. The office has undergone a ſecond removal to New Strelitz, a town built by duke Adolph Frederick III. who,

* Buckholtz, Franck, Kluver, Struvius, Chemnitz, Weſtphal, Backmeiſter.

alſo,

alſo, made it his reſidence. This diſtinction of the two lines of Schwerin and Strelitz, will render it neceſſary for us to give a ſeparate account of the latter at the concluſion of this hiſtory*.

War of the grand alliance.

THE ſame year in which the Hamburg agreement was ſigned, the maritime powers concluded a treaty with the emperor, on the eleventh of September, in conſequence of the death of Charles II. king of Spain; and the purport of it was, to ſupport the pretenſions of the houſe of Auſtria to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The year following, (1702) the empire declared war againſt France, on the ſixth of October; and the Engliſh, Dutch, and the emperor, had done the ſame on the nineteenth of May.

Diſpute between duke Frederick William and the States.

DURING the war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, duke Frederick William very much ingratiated himſelf with the imperial court; and it was his leading maxim ſtudiouſly to maintain ſuch an advantage. With this view, he readily ſent a body of troops to join the allied army in Flanders. The ſtates of Mecklenburg, in the mean time, were carrying on their proceſs againſt the regencies, eſpecially againſt that of Schwerin; and the moſt important article of this conteſt, related to the defence of the country, to which the nobility would contribute little or nothing. In 1698, it was ſo far determined by the aulic council, that the nobility, as well as the reſt of the ſtates, ſhould pay their proper quotas to the neceſſary defence of the country; particularly towards the ſupport of Domitz, and the charges of other garriſons. But the nobility, with the other ſtates, being diſcontented with this deciſion, an imperial commiſſion was appointed, which at length, in 1701, brought about an agreement between duke Frederick William and the whole body of the ſtates, by which all grievances were redreſſed; and the nobility, with the reſt of the ſtates, enagaged to pay annually one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars towards the defence of the country, all which articles received the confirmation of the court of Vienna.

THE emperor Leopold, in the warmth of his goodneſs, ſtudiouſly fought to accommodate every thing with all poſſible diſpatch; and thus, inſtead of a dilatory circular commiſſion, ſub-

* Kluver, Bacmeiſter, Chemnitz, Weſtphal, Franck, Buckholtz.

ſtituted an imperial commiſſion, as more expeditious, ſending general John Martin Geſchwind, baron of Peckſtein, as commiſſary, to put an equitable and final period to every cauſe of diſpute. It is on this account, that the Schwerin agreement of 1701, is alſo known by the name of the Geſchwind convention: not only the old grievances, which in 1684 were laid before the commiſſion, againſt duke Chriſtian Lewis and Guſtavus Adolphus, but likewiſe the late complaints againſt duke Frederick William himſelf, were all redreſſed. It was publiſhed in 1702, with all the objections, and the reſolutions of the princes on that ſubject, and is to be found in the *Jura Mecklenburgica*, printed at New Brandenburg in 1724. The 120,000 dollars to be paid towards keeping the country in a defenſible condition, had occaſioned a diſpute, whether that ſum was to be proportionably paid to the two princes, or duke Frederick William was to have the ſole management thereof; but, in 1702, the emperor decided that this contribution ſhould be paid to duke Frederick William alone.

Agreement of 1701.

NINE, however, were found among the nobility, who, ſo far from approving of this agreement, clamoured againſt it immediately after the tranſaction. The duke was ſo offended with this behaviour, that he openly declared they ſhould not enjoy the benefit of it; hence, new broils aroſe, and the proceſs was eagerly renewed.

THE duke publiſhed a declaration againſt the refractory noblemen, in which eleven are mentioned by their names, but two of them were afterwards found to have no hand in the oppoſition. We forbear naming any one in regard to their deſcendants, not a few being of opinion that theſe nine perſons were chargeable with all the miſchiefs which afterwards befell their country. It appears, in fact, that the 120,000 dollars, from which were ſtill to be deducted the ſalaries of the collectors; nay, the very money payable to the chamber of Wetzlar, the Roman months, with the expences of deputation, was too ſmall a ſum to maintain any conſiderable number of forces, and therefore the determined oppoſition of the nobility and ſtates was altogether unreaſonable.

It

It was alſo ſaid, that they thus, at a very cheap rate, acquired an exemption from their former obligation of ſerving on horſeback, by which many had been ruined: farther, the ſubjects of the princes domains bore one third of theſe contributions, and the ſhare of the nobility was raiſed only on lands belonging to their vaſſals, the manors in their immediate poſſeſſion being exempt. The imperial court was at that time highly offended with the oppoſition of thoſe nine noblemen, ſo that on the ſecond of June 1701, the confirmation of the agreement paſſed, and was ſoon followed by the duke's declaration againſt them, as incapable of the benefit of the agreement. They, however, perſiſted in their oppoſition, and ſought to uſe the ſtyle of civilians, *reſtitutionem in integrum*; and though the fiſcal of the aulic council proſecuted them by order of the court, they found means, having gained over more of the nobility to their ſide, to carry on the proceſs without any impediment, eſpecially after the duke, finding that the nobility paid no regard to the agreement, had proceeded againſt them to execution, without applying for leave to the aulic council: at length, after the emperor Leopold's demiſe*, they were conditionally diſcharged in 1707, from the fiſcal's action. This ſentence, ſo detrimental to the duke, has been thought to have been owing to the intereſt which ſome of the Mecklenburg nobleſſe had made at the imperial court; others attribute it to the corruption of ſome of the members of the aulic council. But it is more probable that the great ſway of the new prince of Lamberg, the emperor Joſeph's favourite, might not a little contribute to it; for about this time duke Frederick William had treated him with ſome aſperity, as will ſoon be ſeen in the ſequel.

Duke Adolph Frederick II. diſpleaſed with the agreement.

ADOLPH FREDERICK II. duke of Strelitz, and the nobility of the circle of Stargard, were likewiſe diſpleaſed with the agreement of Schwerin, and openly oppoſed it, though from other motives; the chief of which was, that they were not in-

* The emperor Leopold died at Vienna on the fifth of May, 1705, aged ſixty-four, of which he had reigned forty-ſeven; he was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Joſeph, who had been choſen king of the Romans January 24, 1690.

cluded

cluded in that convention. It was alſo for this reaſon that duke Adolph Frederick did not interfere in the ſubſequent conteſts of the court of Schwerin with the nobility, and ſo far ſeparated from it, as to aſſume all the regalia of ſovereignty, as coinage, levying the contributions to the empire and circle, &c. without any regard to the proteſts of the court of Schwerin.

THAT duke Adolph Frederick, and the ſtates of Stargard, ſhould be excluded from the agreement, was not only an irregularity, but a contravention of the union of 1523: however, it was not properly a duty incumbent on duke Frederick William, and he might plead, that the proceſs concerning the government of the country being yet in ſuſpence, it was not decided that duke Adolph Frederick ſhould be a ſovereign prince. The court of Schwerin might alſo look upon the diſputes with that of Strelitz as a good opportunity of improving its advantage, and concluding an agreement with the nobility at Schwerin, before the negotiation at Hamburg with the court of Strelitz ſhould be brought to an iſſue. But that not ſo much as one of the nobility and ſtates of Stargard ſhould have been invited to this agreement, ſavours of partiality, and probably was on account of their favouring duke Adolph Frederick. Duke Frederick William, in the mean time, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to effectuate a diſtinct agreement with the towns of Mecklenburg, which otherwiſe had refuſed to act any longer in concert with the nobility. In this he ſucceeded ſo well, that in 1708, all the towns and corporations in the country, Roſtock excepted, entered into a ſeparate agreement with him for a ſtated contribution, and renounced their connection with the nobility: beſides many cauſes of complaint againſt the nobleſſe, as they ſaw great advantages in cloſing with the ſovereign, they were the more eaſily perſuaded to detach themſelves from the proceſs, and come into this ſeparate agreement. After this meaſure, they very willingly agreed to the contributions for the defence of the country; and, in return, they obtained from the dukes ſome grants, no leſs equitable than advantageous. Thus was aboliſhed the union which had ſubſiſted ſince the year 1523, and the towns had no farther concern in the proceſs

Separate agreement between duke Frederick and the towns.

proceſs carried on by the nobility. The diſſolution of the union raiſed loud complaints among the latter; but the towns, in their juſtification, declared that the union had ever been a very heavy burden to them, and they could expect nothing but utter ruin from its continuance; nor did they again accede to it, though it was ordered to be renewed by the imperial court. Duke Frederick William, however, enjoyed this advantage from it, that he never after met with the leaſt oppoſition from the towns, and thus he collected a conſiderable part of the contributions without any of the former difficulties*.

The king of Pruſſia marries the ſiſter of Frederick William.

In the year 1708, princeſs Sophia Louiſa, ſiſter to duke Frederick William, was married to Frederick I. king of Pruſſia. The nuptials were performed at Schwerin, with great ſplendor and rejoicings, which afterwards were repeated at Berlin. She was the king's third wife, and, in 1713, he died without iſſue by this lady. The moſt material article of the alliance made on this occaſion was, their entering into a compact of *hereditary fraternity* in both houſes; this had been ſtipulated ſo long ago as 1442, and was now renewed in ſuch a manner, that the king and all the houſe of Brandenburg, took the title of Mecklenburg, as next heirs, in caſe of the extinction of that family: it was alſo declared, that no injury or prejudice was thereby intended to the line of Strelitz. The duke of Strelitz, not having been invited to the conſultations, proteſted againſt the king's aſſuming the title of Mecklenburg; and ſome letters paſſed between the two princes on this ſubject. This Pruſſian alliance ſeemed highly advantageous to the court of Schwerin, as the force of that power could eaſily bring the nobility to a proper obſequiouſneſs; and the king's weight at the imperial court inſured a favourable ſentence. The king promiſed the duke that he would reduce the nobility to their duty; accordingly two Pruſſian regiments of dragoons marched into Mecklenburg; upon which, ſome of the nobility, to avoid greater miſchief, paid the tax; but ſo violent a ſtep animated the reſt, who were joined even by thoſe that had paid the contri-

* Kluver, Struvius, Franck, Buckholtz.

butions, to puſh on the proceſs with greater vigour. Hence the only expedient remaining to accommodate matters was the commiſſion, which the court of Berlin is ſaid to have had the chief hand in procuring, and in 1711 it was actually opened at Hamburg. The commiſſioners were Bremen, Wolfenbuttle, Gotha, and the imperial repreſentative, count Schonborn, afterwards cardinal and biſhop of Spires. But the nobility being little inclined that the affair ſhould be determined by the commiſſioners, affected all kinds of delays, till at length the commiſſion was diſſolved in courſe, by the demiſe of the emperor Joſeph*. The duke having, in the ſame year, demanded the contributions from the nobility, they applied to the imperial vicar's court of Dreſden, and ſoon afterwards to the new aulic council, upon the election of the emperor Charles VI. where their bill of complaint was received. In 1712, the tribunal paſſed a proviſional ſentence on the chief points of the proceſs, that according to the convention at Schwerin, a hundred and twenty thouſand rix dollars ſhould be annually paid to provide for the defence of the country, and ſome other publick ſervices; and this ſum was never to be increaſed, ſo that if the duke ſtood in need of more, he was to furniſh it out of his own revenue. The Hamburg agreement, however, could not produce a right underſtanding between the two reigning dukes. Adolph Frederick would not concern himſelf in the conteſts with the nobility, and duke Frederick William did not conſult him in affairs which however appertained to their joint cognizance. This gradually occaſioned a ſeparation of Stargard from the other circles of Mecklenburg. For as the court of Schwerin did not invite either the duke of Strelitz or the ſtates, in the requiſite form, to a diet, an interim-diet was held at Stargard, erecting an interim-treaſury at New Brandenburg; and in this ſeparate manner of acting the government of Strelitz has ever ſince continued.

Hamburg agreement in 1712.

* The emperor Joſeph died at Vienna on the ſeventeenth of April 1711, aged thirty-five, of which he had reigned ſix. He was ſucceeded by his brother Charles VI. who was elected emperor on the twenty-ſecond of October 1711, and crowned at Frankfort, on the twenty-ſecond of December, at the age of twenty-ſix.

The capital complaint of the duke of Strelitz was, that the court of Schwerin excluded him from the government of the nobility and ſtates of the country, which in ſeveral deciſions and agreements, was declared to be common to both houſes; and that the duke of Schwerin arrogated to himſelf the ſole power of convening diets, and the ſole management of public affairs; but to this, neither duke Adolph Frederick, nor the nobility and ſtates of Stargard, nor of Mecklenburg in general, would ſubmit: therefore, if the court of Schwerin at any time invited the ſtates of Stargard to the diet, they complied no farther than was agreeable to the ſovereign. Thus the court of Strelitz joined with the Mecklenburg nobility in their complaints againſt the court of Schwerin, but this failed of its deſired effect; therefore, in 1702, the ſtates of Stargard were ſummoned to an interim-diet at Strelitz, in order to deliberate on the affairs of the country, as far as related to this circle. It was enacted by an order of duke Adolph Frederick, that the ancient union of the Mecklenburg ſtates, ſhould not ſuffer by this ſeparation. Thus a particular provincial cheſt came to be eſtabliſhed at New Brandenburg, with the aſſurance that Roſtock ſhould not be hurt thereby; and that this ſtep was taken only on account of the preſent exigencies of the country*.

In the year 1705, a diſpute aroſe between the ducal houſe and the new prince of Lamberg, which continued ſome years. The elector of Bavaria being put under the bann of the empire, the prince of Lamberg obtained as a fief, the landgravate of Leuchtenberg; but the houſe of Mecklenburg having an ancient and well grounded claim to that territory, delivered in a proteſt againſt the grant, both to the diet and the court of Vienna. Duke Henry the Pacific obtained the reverſion of Leuchtenberg from the emperor Maximilian I. It is ſituated in the Upper Palatinate, and conſiſts of the two lordſhips of Leuchtenberg and Pfreimbt; the laſt landgrave had been dead ſo long as the year 1646, in the thirty years war, and the houſe of Mecklenburg

Diſpute about the Leuchtenberg ſucceſſion.

* Struvius, Kluver, Jura Mecklenb. Franck, Buckholtz.

ſhould by right have ſucceeded. But the houſe of Bavaria being then cloſely connected with that of Auſtria, ſeized on the country, and the emperor Ferdinand III. confirmed the elector of Bavaria in the poſſeſſion of that territory. The critical circumſtances of the times would not permit the dukes of Mecklenburg to aſſert their right, and thus Leuchtenberg continued in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Bavaria, till the elector Maximilian Emanuel, joining with France in the war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, was totally defeated at Hochſtedt, and driven out of his country. Both he and his brother, the elector of Cologn, were put under the bann of the empire, and their dominions divided among other princes. But we ſhall dwell no longer on this head, and paſs over the great diſpleaſure which the whole empire, eſpecially the electors, conceived at theſe proceedings; obſerving only, that the new-created prince of Lamberg was in the ſtrongeſt terms inveſted with the landgravate of Leuchtenberg. What pretenſions he had to it we have never been informed, but it is well known that he reſided at the court of Vienna, had an unbounded aſcendant over the emperor; and his brother the cardinal of Lamberg, biſhop of Paſſau, was his imperial majeſty's chief miniſter at the diet of Ratiſbon; with ſuch intereſt it is not ſurpriſing he ſhould obtain a ſeat and vote among the princes of the empire, who unanimouſly oppoſed it, eſpecially Saxony, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, the laſt of whom revived his ancient claim, for which he had good grounds, reverſions not being ſubject to preſcription. And though the pretenſions of the dukes of Mecklenburg, at the deceaſe of the laſt landgrave, were diſregarded, yet, by the peace of Weſtphalia, every ſtate of the empire ſtill retained all its claims of right, and conſequently the Mecklenburg reverſion was not at all affected by that irregular proceeding. The houſe of Bavaria having forfeited this territory, it naturally ſhould have eſcheated to him who was next in right; but the new prince's brother ſtruck out ſome objections, and the Mecklenburg remonſtrance and proteſt were effectually confuted by the introduction of that prince into the diet, as landgrave of Leuchtenberg; and, what amazed all Germany, a ſeat was aſſigned him

him on the bench of the antient princely families, contrary to the complaints, and even the proteſts, of moſt of the members of the Germanic body. And now we can plainly account for the diſcharge from the fiſcal's action, granted to the nobility in 1707: duke Frederick William had brought his complaints againſt the nobility, both before the aulic council and the diet, in the reign of the emperor Leopold, the right was all on his ſide, and the fiſcal's action againſt the nobility had been ſet on foot; but after the demiſe of that prince, the duke could not conceal his reſentment againſt the emperor Joſeph's minion, who at that time ruled the court, as his brother directed the diet, for ſupplanting him in the affair of Leuchtenberg. His complaints were therefore now conſidered as deſtitute of foundation, and the fiſcal's action againſt the nobility was ſuperſeded: and yet duke Frederick William deſerved well of the houſe of Auſtria, ſince he maintained a body of troops for its ſervice, which in the war of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, fought againſt the French in the Netherlands. At the concluſion of the war, no notice was taken of the houſe of Mecklenburg; and, at the peace of Radſtadt, this landgravate, and all the other Bavarian poſſeſſions, were reſtored to the elector Maximilian Emanuel*.

Diſpute between duke Frederick and his brothers.

DUKE Frederick William had alſo ſome differences with his brother duke Charles Leopold, after the agreement at Hamburg, but they never roſe to a complaint before any court of judicature. Duke Charles Leopold demanded the territory of Guſtrow, or at leaſt a part of it; but, in 1707, they came to an agreement, grounded on that of Hamburg, and on the emperor's confirmation of it, that the elder brother, in right of primogeniture, ſhould enjoy the ſole ſovereignty; the ſecond brother, duke Charles Leopold, ſhould have an appanage of 15,000 dollars per annum, and duke Chriſtian Lewis 10,000 per annum.

THESE two princes, duke Charles Leopold and duke Chriſtian Lewis, were very differently affected towards their elder brother. The former ſhewed himſelf untractable and moroſe; the latter,

† Nettlebladt, Hubner, Franck, Buckholtz.

Chriſtian Lewis, was of a gentle diſpoſition, and full of cordiality and affection; ſo that far from joining in any diſpute, he conſtantly lived at the court of his brother, who had the like ſentiments for him; whilſt duke Charles Leopold, till the abovementioned accommodation, was moſtly abroad, ſometimes at Hamburg, and ſometimes with the Swediſh army in Poland. This prince grounded his pretenſions on the partition, which had been the immemorial cuſtom of the family: but, at length, perceiving that this availed nothing, and that he might one day attain to the ſovereignty, there being little appearance that his brother would have any heirs, he cloſed with the agreement, in which duke Frederick William acted the part of a kind and generous brother. Duke Charles Leopold, not only had the manor of Dobberan for an appanage and his reſidence, and on any deficiency of the fifteen thouſand dollars which were to be raiſed in the manor, the remainder to be made good out of the revenue of the reigning duke; but likewiſe the intire juriſdiction, the patronage of all the churches, with all the privileges thereof, the ſovereignty excepted, the freedom of game, and exemption from quartering troops, together with the permiſſion of ſettling a dowry on his ſpouſe, to which were added the Roſtock and Ribnitz hunts. To duke Chriſtian Lewis he aſſigned the manor of Grabow for his appanage of eight thouſand dollars, which, on his marriage, were to be raiſed to ten thouſand. But as this prince lived with his brother in the moſt cordial harmony, and the ducheſs dowager then reſided at Grabow, he paſſed his days at the court of Schwerin, and formally made over to duke Frederic William the manor of Grabow during his life. The diſputes to which this gave riſe when the ſovereignty devolved to duke Charles Leopold, will be ſeen in the ſequel.

Mecklenburg ſuffers by foreign armies.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe conteſts of the houſe of Mecklenburgh, they did not break out into hoſtilities; and till the deceaſe of Adolph Frederick II. duke of Strelitz, which happened on the 11th of May 1708, not a foreign ſoldier, or enemy was ſeen in the country. But, in 1709, the king of Denmark having

having ſided with Poland and Pruſſia againſt Sweden, the flames of war, which had blazed for ſome time in the North, were unhappily ſpread to the duchy of Mecklenburg, though neither of the dukes had the leaſt concern in that quarrel. The armies on both ſides marched through the country, if not as enemies, yet as inſolent gueſts, without the leaſt regard to the duke's remonſtrances. As the troops of duke Frederick William of Schwerin, were at that time in the allied army in Flanders, they were called back, in order to be ſome check againſt the outrages of foreign ſoldiers; but they were not ſufficient to oppoſe the depredations of whole armies. In 1712, Mecklenburg became the theatre on which the Swediſh general Steenbock gained a ſignal victory over the Danes and Saxons at Gadebuſch, on the 20th of December. In the following year, 1713, a Ruſſian army, was, for the firſt time, ſeen in this country, purſuing the Swedes into Holſtein, in different detachments. The damage which Mecklenburg ſuſtained, by the marches and outrages of theſe foreign armies, was immenſe, and involved the whole country in one general calamity*.

Death and character of duke Frederick William.

To theſe misfortunes was added another ſtill greater, the death of duke Frederick William, on the 31ſt of July, 1713. He departed this life at Mentz, whither he had removed a few days before, from the baths of Schlangenbade, where he had been for ſome time for the recovery of his health.

It may be truly affirmed, that this prince's death was a very great misfortune to the country: he had brought all the differences between the two branches of the ducal family into a fair way for an accommodation; and he was alſo preparing, by all poſſible means, to relieve the country from the violences of foreign troops: a proof of the latter was, his procuring, in the beginning of the year 1713, the emperor's *protectorium* to the circle of Lower Saxony, for the defence of Mecklenburgh; and the former appears by the proviſional ſentence of 1712, and his conſent to the marriage of his brother duke Chriſtian Lewis with

* Kluver, Franck, Buckholtz.

princeſs

princeſs Guſtava Carolina of Strelitz, which was performed at Guſtrow in the following year, 1714. Even, to this day, all Mecklenburg patriots lament his unſeaſonable death, by which ſuch pleaſing hopes were blaſted; the nobility themſelves acknowledge, that his demands on them were not unreaſonable; and, therefore, they afterwards grounded their proceſs only on the Schwerin agreement of 1701, and the emperor's proviſional ſentence of 1712. Thus, duke Frederick William, after his deceaſe, was honoured with the ſettled affection of his ſtates, of which, during his life, only ſome flying ſparks had now and then appeared. He was, indeed, a prince formed to make his country happy, had not inteſtine variances thrown ſo many obſtacles in his way: he was prudent and ſagacious, juſt in his principles, honourable in his proceedings, and ſo affable and bountiful, that if any one went away dejected from his preſence, it muſt have been owing to ſome unreaſonableneſs in his requeſt. None ever beheld him without admiration, love, and eſteem; nothing would have been wanting to render him an accompliſhed character, had more of his younger years been ſpent under the inſpection of his mother, inſtead of being indulged in the gaiety and pleaſures of the court of Schwerin; here the deſires of his youth had little or no reſtraint, and he gave himſelf up ſo far to his amours, as to entertain no thoughts of marriage till he had reached his twenty-eighth year, when it was the ardent wiſh of all his ſubjects to ſee him bleſſed with legitimate iſſue. But this was not their happineſs, though his natural children before his marriage favoured ſuch hopes. He was greatly eſteemed by moſt of the princes of his time. King Frederick IV. of Denmark, honoured him with the order of the Elephant; and Frederick I. king of Pruſſia, with that of the Black Eagle. His conſort was Sophia Charlotte, daughter of Charles, landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and ſiſter of Frederick, king of Sweden; but he had no iſſue by her. She retired, after the duke's death, to Butzow, where ſhe lived till the year 1749. As this princeſs was of the Calviniſtical perſuaſion, out of reſpect to her,

her, the French emigrants lately settled at Butzow, were allowed the public exercise of their religion; and, to this day, though merely from the connivance of the government, they have a French chaplain. It was also at her solicitation, that a German reformed minister was admitted at Schwerin, and afterwards at Butzow*.

* Kluver, Backmeister, Chemnitz, Westphal, Hubner, Nettlebladt, Struvius, Franck, Buckholtz.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

CHARLES LEOPOLD
Duke of MECKLENBURG SCHWERIN.

From 1713 to 1747.

EMPERORS of GERMANY.

CHARLES VI. - - - -	1711
CHARLES VII. - - -	1742
FRANCIS I. - - - -	1745

KINGS of ENGLAND.

QUEEN ANNE - - -	1702
GEORGE I. - - - -	1714
GEORGE II. - - - -	1727

Duke Charles Leopold's education. He learns the art of war under Charles XII. His adventures in Poland. He marries the princeſs of Naſſau Dietz, from whom he is ſoon divorced. Takes to his ſecond wife, princeſs Catharine Iwanowna of Ruſſia. He viſits the king of Sweden at Stralſund. Quarrels with his brother duke Chriſtian Lewis. Quarrels with the duke of Strelitz, and with the nobility. Diets of Sternberg in 1713 and 1714. The duke determines to reduce the nobility to obedience. Complaints of Adolph Frederick II. duke of Strelitz. Diets of Sternberg in 1716 and 1717. The emperor iſſues out a commiſſion againſt the duke. The duke confiſcates the eſtates of ſome of the nobility. The army of execution marches into Mecklenburg. The duke diſmiſſes his troops, and the Hanoverians take poſſeſſion of his country. The duke, in vain, applies in perſon to the emperor for relief. Conſpiracy againſt the duke, who retires to Dantzick. Diſpute between the duke and his brother revived upon the death of their mother. Diet of Sternberg in 1723, and of Malchin in 1724. The empreſs of Ruſſia promiſes to ſupport duke Charles Leopold. His propoſals for an accommodation are rejected.

WE are now come to the memorable reign of duke Charles Leopold, a reign diſtinguiſhed by events of the greateſt conſequence to Mecklenburg, and in which the moſt conſiderable powers in Europe were nearly concerned. The actions of ſo extraordinary a perſonage deſerve a more particular view; and, as he has been greatly cenſured by ſome, and pitied or admired by others, our intent is to examine into his conduct with an impartial eye, and to give ſuch an account of his tranſactions, as ſhall be ſtrictly conſiſtent with hiſtorical truth, from which we have no inducement to deviate.

Duke Charles Leopold's education.

DUKE Charles Leopold was born at Grabow, on the 26th of November, 1679. His father dying when he was but nine years old, the care of his education, and that of his brothers, devolved upon their mother, who diſcharged that important truſt with the greateſt tenderneſs and prudence. She put her ſons under the tuition of Mr. Koppelow, a privy counſellor; of Mr. Leumann, afterwards ſuperintendent at Schwerin; and of Mr. Varenius, ſon to that celebrated divine doctor Varenius of Roſtock, who all deſerved well of Mecklenburg by their extraordinary wiſdom and aſſiduity in inſtructing the three princes in religion, no leſs than polite literature. Duke Charles Leopold, in particular, had, by the year 1692, made ſuch a progreſs under thoſe able maſters in every princely accompliſhment, as to be deemed qualified to travel, with advantage to himſelf and honour to his country. He viſited Germany, Holland, France, and England, attended by Mr. Koppelow; and it muſt not be forgot, that this gentleman took particular care in Catholic countries, that his princely pupil ſhould loſe no part of that ſtock of religion, in which he had been thoroughly grounded by Mr. Leumann. There was the greater reaſon to apprehend ſuch danger, as ſeveral Proteſtant princes had been lately ſeduced from their religion; and, as duke Charles Leopold was then but very young, and ſtrongly actuated by ambition; a circumſtance which would have added great weight to any inſinuations uſed to make him embrace a perſuaſion more favourable to his towering de-

fires. Thus, after ſome years ſpent in foreign countries, duke Charles Leopold returned to his own, with a fund of obſervation and experience; which, added to his earlier acquirements by ſtudy, could not but make his family entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of his one day proving an ornament to it.

He ſerves under Charles XII. king of Sweden.

It was after his return the differences, which we have already taken notice of, aroſe between him and his brother concerning the Guſtrow ſhare of the country. The uneaſineſs of his ſituation made him remove to Hamburg; but, ſoon growing tired of an inactive life, and deſirous to learn the military art, he repaired to the ſtandard of Charles XII. king of Sweden, who was carrying on a war in Poland againſt Peter the Great. He, now, found himſelf in his own element, and, accordingly, ſerved ſeveral campaigns in the Swediſh army; during which he acquired a very high reputation by his many military talents; particularly his alertneſs and intrepidity, the chief characteriſtics of the martial monarch under whom he ſerved. He was one of the party in that dangerous excurſion from Radom to Piontek, which king Charles, attended by prince Maximilian of Wirtemberg, general Mayerfeld, and ſome other officers, undertook, on the 25th of July, 1706, in order to confer with marſhal Rhenſchiold. Being attacked on their way by a party of the enemy, the king himſelf, his horſe falling down with him, loſt his company; and, after riding about a long time in queſt of them, was obliged to return quite alone to Radom. Duke Charles Leopold was in great danger alſo, as he not only met with the ſame accident with the king, but his horſe ran away from him, ſo that the only reſource he had left, was to hide himſelf in the buſhes till he thought the purſuit over. Fortunately for him, count Piper, on the return of prince Maximilian and general Mayerfeld without the king, diſpatched colonel Burenſchiold with two hundred horſe in ſearch of his majeſty, and they fell in with duke Charles Leopold, but in ſuch a plight, as, conſidering his dignity and rank in the army, would at any other time have excited laughter. He was mounted on a hide-bound horſe, belonging to one of the poor boors of the country, without

His dangerous adventure in Poland.

without either bridle or ſaddle, ſo that it was with much difficulty he could get the poor animal to ſtir a foot. But, being mounted now on a better horſe, he ſoon after, with his deliverers, reached the Swediſh head quarters *.

1707. His firſt marriage with the princeſs of Naſſau Dietz.

THE year following, the diſſenſions between him and his brother being happily concluded, he left the Swediſh army, and took up his reſidence at Dobberan. As his brother was without children, and there were no hopes of that prince's ever having any, duke Charles Leopold, on the 27th of May, 1708, married at Leuwarden, princeſs Sophia Hedwig, daughter of prince Henry Caſimir of Naſſau Dietz, hereditary ſtadtholder of Friezland, and ſiſter to prince John William Friſo of Orange and Nauſſau Dietz, father of the late prince Charles William Henry Friſo of Orange, hereditary ſtadtholder of the United Netherlands.

THIS was very far from proving a happy match. Such differences ſoon broke out between the duke and his conſort, as nothing, it was thought, but a formal divorce could determine. What the ſource of theſe diſputes was, is a ſecret known to very few; and ſuch, in all probability, it will ever continue, though ſome preſumptuous perſons have pretended to ſee through the curtains of the marriage bed. The princeſs was in the bloom of eighteen, adorned with all the virtues and graces of her ſex. The duke, on his ſide, was of ſo advantageous a figure, that he might, with very few exceptions, paſs for the handſomeſt man in all Mecklenburg. We have already mentioned his other accompliſhments. The only thing he wanted was temper. He was too choleric; and, if his conſort was ſo too, the diſcords between them may be accounted for, though remotely. But whatever was the immediate cauſe of this miſunderſtanding, both parties, in 1709, agreed to refer the matter to the conſiſtory of Gripſwald. No doubt, the reaſon for giving this tribunal the preference, was that it did not comport with the dignity of the parties to appear before that of Roſtock. Beſides, ſome partiality might have been apprehended in

* Kluver, Franck, Buckholtz.

the latter, in favour of a prince who was likely one day to become their ſovereign. The princeſs being of the reformed religion, had the diſadvantage on her ſide, even before the Gripſwald conſiſtory, eſpecially as the preſident of it was that famous zealot for Lutheraniſm doctor Mayer, who, by his own behaviour, ſhewed how little he made of a divorce, for he lived in a ſtate of ſeparation from his wife, to the great ſcandal of the whole Lutheran church, which is very far from favouring divorces, unleſs upon very weighty accounts. In 1710, the conſiſtory decreed, that the parties might lawfully ſeparate and marry again. The duke, with whom, as with many other illuſtrious perſonages, doctor Mayer had worked himſelf into great eſteem, not only acquieſced in the ſentence, but affected to believe, that he was not bound to provide for his repudiated ſpouſe, otherwiſe than by returning her what ſhe had brought him, on her reſtoring what ſhe had received from him. She, on her ſide, diſſatisfied with the decree of the Gripſwald conſiſtory, appealed to the imperial court, which pronounced the decree of the conſiſtory null and void, and even ſent the duke a prohibitory order. But he paid no regard to the decree, the proteſtant princes of the empire not being, in ſuch caſes, abſolutely ſubject to the emperor; and, indeed, ſuch a ſubjection would be of infinite detriment to their religion. Thus, the application of this princeſs to the imperial court, proved as ineffectual as it was improper; and ſhe found herſelf under the neceſſity of returning to her brother at Leuwarden, from whence ſhe ſoon after removed to the territories of Naſſau in Germany, where ſhe died at the palace of Oranienſtein, in Auguſt 1734*.

Divorced in 1710.

Duke Charles Leopold takes to his ſecond wife Catharina Ivanowna of Ruſſia.

Duke Charles Leopold reſided at Dobberan till his brother's deceaſe in 1713, when he ſucceeded to the government of Mecklenburg. Soon after he began to look about him for a ſecond wife; and his choice, at length, fell on princeſs Catherina Ivanowna, daughter to the czar Ivan, brother to Peter the Great, emperor of Ruſſia, and elder ſiſter to the afterwards ſo celebrated czarina Anna Ivanowna. The czar himſelf conducted

* Kluver, Franck, Buckholtz.

his

his niece to Dantzick, where the marriage ceremony was performed, on the 19th of April, 1716, by a Ruſſian biſhop, in one of the churches of that city, attended with great ſplendor, being honoured with the preſence of the czar himſelf, who gave his niece away, and that of Auguſtus, king of Poland, beſides a number of Poliſh grandees, and other perſons of diſtinction. The czar, likewiſe, entered into a cloſe alliance with Charles Leopold on this occaſion. The duke's motive for chuſing this Ruſſian princeſs, notwithſtanding the great difference in their religious ſentiments, was, that he hoped thereby to ſecure her uncle's intereſt; and, as that monarch had then a great many troops in Germany, to have the uſe of them in bringing the differences between him and his ſtates to a ſpeedy and advantageous concluſion. As to the czar, he had reaſons of ſtate for wiſhing to ſee his elder brother's daughter ſettled ſomewhere out of the Ruſſian dominions; eſpecially on ſo ſpecious a pretence as that of an honourable marriage.

The czar, not content with this gallantry of conducting his niece to Dantzick, and giving her away in perſon, accompanied her and her huſband, along with his empreſs, to Schwerin; and his preſence there gave occaſion to a great variety of diverſions, entertainments, and ſpectacles: but what afforded the czar moſt pleaſure, was the beautiful ſituation of Schwerin. This prince, an excellent judge both of men and things, was ſo taken with it, that while the duke and princeſs reſided there, he often repeated his viſits to them. The only fruit of this match was a princeſs, born the 18th of December, 1718, and named Elizabeth Catharine Chriſtina; nor were the conſequences of it, in other reſpects, anſwerable to the uncommon rejoicings with which it had been celebrated; and much leſs to the ſanguine expectations of the duke. The troubles in Mecklenburg encreaſed, in time, to ſuch a degree, that inſtead of ſoon ſeeing himſelf ſecure from foreign enemies, and triumphant over his own nobility, he found it, in ſome degree, neceſſary to look for ſhelter abroad. He, therefore, with his wife and daughter, removed to Dantzick, from whence the two latter proceeded to Ruſſia, where

they remained; and the daughter, and a ſon of her's, came to act a principal part in one of the moſt ſurprizing revolutions that have happened during this century, of which we ſhall take farther notice in its proper place*.

Duke Charles Leopold's adminiſtration.

BUT as we have anticipated ſome of theſe events, let us now return to the earlier part of the adminiſtration of duke Charles Leopold; who, upon the death of his brother, took quiet poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty. After receiving the uſual homage in the chief towns of the country, Roſtock, Guſtrow, Parchin, and Schwerin, making choice of able miniſters, and depoſiting his brother's remains in the family-vault of a church in Schwerin, built by that prince, he removed his court from Schwerin to Roſtock, the palace of the former being out of repair; beſides, he had a notion that the preſence of the ſovereign would greatly contribute to awe the inhabitants of the latter into that reſpect to which he thought himſelf entitled. Among the privy counſellors he appointed in forming his miniſtry, were Petkum, Klein, Schopper, Grund, and Schaper; but the principal, or, at leaſt, the moſt in the duke's confidence, was Wolfrath. Some of theſe gentlemen, particularly Petkum and Wolfrath, had been in the ſervice of the late duke.

The dukes of Mecklenburg viſit the king of Sweden at Stralſund.

IN 1714, Charles XII. king of Sweden, arrived at Stralſund from Turky, on which occaſion duke Charles Leopold, duke Adolph Frederick III. of Strelitz, and duke Chriſtian Lewis of Grabow, waited on his majeſty, though not at the ſame time; duke Charles Leopold being the firſt to congratulate him on his return: this prince was ſtill ſo ſtrongly penetrated with his former ſentiments of affection and reſpect for that brave, but now unfortunate monarch, and of gratitude for the particular regard with which he had been honoured by his majeſty, that, notwithſtanding his ſubſequent connection and alliance with Peter the Great, Charles's chief enemy and rival, he was the firſt of the princes of Mecklenburg to pay his reſpects to him at Stralſund.

* Kluver, Buckholtz.

THIS

Duke Charles Leopold seeks for reparation of damages done by foreign armies.

THIS ſame year, duke Charles Leopold, intent on procuring his country a compenſation for the damages it had ſuffered during the late war, when it had been ravaged by the armies of all parties, ordered an eſtimate to be made of them; and, though all the damages were not charged in the account, and theſe were at the loweſt rate, they amounted to two millions ſix hundred and fourteen thouſand one hundred and eighteen rixdollars; a moſt enormous ſum, far exceeding any the lawful ſovereigns of the country had ever levied upon it in ſo ſhort a period. Duke Charles Leopold had the eſtimate laid before the diet of Ratiſbon, with a demand of indemnification; but he could obtain no redreſs. He then ſtrongly ſolicited that it might be taken into conſideration at the congreſs of Brunſwick; but, as the congreſs itſelf did not take place, his ſolicitations could have no effect. The year following, the duke concluded a cartel with Sweden relating to deſerters, which was very much to the advantage of that crown, as ſuch agreements contribute greatly to prevent the deſertion of ſoldiers, who generally follow the fortune of war, and Sweden was certainly more liable to ſuffer by deſertion then Mecklenburg. He, likewiſe, in the ſame year, 1715, iſſued a ſtrong ordinance againſt duels. This ſtep was highly neceſſary, and ſhewed, beſides, ſuch a regard in the duke for the welfare of his ſubjects, as might entitle him to their compliance, even in indifferent matters; but ſuch was, at this time, the animoſity of the nobility of the country againſt him, on account of the conteſts then ſubſiſting between them, that they warmly oppoſed it. 1715.

Makes ſeveral uſeful regulations.

Duke Charles Leopold quarrels with his brother duke Chriſtian Lewis.

DUKE Charles Leopold had the misfortune ſoon after he came to the government, to quarrel not only with his brother, duke Chriſtian Lewis, and with duke Adolph Frederick III. of Strelitz, but likewiſe with the ſtates of Mecklenburg. The conteſt between him and duke Chriſtian Lewis related to the appanage of the latter, for which the manor of Grabow had been ſettled on him by duke Frederick William, in the agreement of 1707. But duke Chriſtian Lewis had afterwards diveſted himſelf of this manor by bond, during the life of duke Frederick William, who,

on duke Chriſtian Lewis's marrying with his conſent, thought of returning it to him, though he did not live to ſee the marriage accompliſhed. Accordingly, duke Frederick William dying abroad, he delivered this inſtrument to his privy counſellor Wolfrath, with orders to return it to duke Chriſtian Lewis, to prevent any diſpute between him and his ſucceſſor. Wolfrath did as he had been directed; but, at the ſame time, adviſed duke Chriſtian Lewis to commit the bond to the flames. Duke Charles Leopold coming to hear of Wolfrath's behaviour on the occaſion, took great offence at it. He even inſiſted, that the bond was ſtill in force, and refuſed ſo much as to hear of delivering up Grabow to prince Chriſtian Lewis, till he ſhould compound with him for it. This diſagreement proved a ſource of much negociation between the two princes; in the courſe of which it was propoſed, that the younger brother ſhould have the manor of Dobberan; but this propoſal never took place. In ſhort, all he could ever obtain from duke Charles Leopold, was leave to reſide at Grabow with their mother; and even this ſmall favour he was not allowed, till he had ſigned an inſtrument purporting, that this permiſſion was granted him at his requeſt, till ſomething elſe could be agreed on. Duke Charles Leopold's chief motive for thus ſo obſtinately perſevering in his reſolution not to part with Grabow, was their mother's ſtill living there. He did not think it adviſeable to leave the inheritance of her affairs ſo much to his brother's diſcretion, as it infallibly would, in caſe ſhe died in a place which knew no other maſter.

But whatever duke Charles Leopold's reaſons might be for this obdurate firmneſs to the prejudice of his brother, who had recourſe to the moſt condeſcending entreaties to ſoften him, he ſeems to have borrowed it from his old maſter Charles XII. of Sweden. This inflexibility, however, had, like moſt of the meaſures of that unfeeling monarch, as little ſound policy as humanity in it. Conſidering the very troubleſome diſſenſions between duke Charles Leopold and the nobility, it would have been much more prudent in him to have kept his brother in his intereſt, almoſt at any rate, than to have forced him into the arms of the nobility,

bility, which gave additional ſtrength to their cauſe, and weakened his own intereſt. There are ſome who impute this harſhneſs, or rather cruelty, of duke Charles Leopold towards his brother, to the latter's marrying into the Strelitz family, againſt which the former conceived an implacable hatred; and the ſeeds of this hatred, they ſay, were laid by the privy counſellor Petkum, who had been formerly in the ſervice of the court of Strelitz; but having been abruptly diſmiſſed by it, thought this a fair opportunity to gratify his reſentment. During this diſpute, a great deal was written on both ſides, but all to no purpoſe. Duke Chriſtian Lewis, therefore, thinking his brother's uſage of him ſuch as intitled him to the interpoſition of the aulic council, he complained of it to that tribunal; and, in 1719, it iſſued a commiſſion to the duke of Brunſwick Blankenburg, to bring the two brothers, if poſſible, to an amicable agreement; and, in caſe he could not ſucceed, to enquire into the grounds of their diſpute. This commiſſion was opened in September 1720; and the duke of Brunſwick Blankenberg's deputy repaired to Grabow to execute it; but nobody appearing for duke Charles Leopold, who abſolutely refuſed his acquieſcence in this commiſſion, the deputy left the place without being able to do any thing in it, and of courſe it never took place. Thus, all duke Chriſtian Lewis could obtain, was leave to continue at Grabow; from whence, after the death of his mother, and the deſtruction of the palace in that town, which happened by a terrible fire in 1725, he removed to Newſtadt, though not without oppoſition from his brother. It was in this manner all the differences between duke Chriſtian Leopold and his brother came to be connected with thoſe between him and his nobility.

1719.

1720.

Diſpute between duke Charles Leopold and the duke of Strelitz.

The diſpute between duke Charles Leopold, and duke Adolph Frederick III. of Strelitz, was but a revival of the former quarrel concerning the common rights of the family, which, in all probability, would have been amicably terminated in conſequence of the marriage between duke Chriſtian Lewis and the princeſs of Strelitz, with the conſent of duke Frederick William, had not this valuable prince been ſo ſuddenly ſnatched off to make

room for one of a quite contrary diſpoſition; who, accordingly, refuſed, as we have already ſeen, to comply with the intentions of his deceaſed brother, in a caſe where the ties of blood pleaded ſtill ſtronger; and were, beſides, inforced by the calls of humanity. We are told, however, that the affairs between duke Charles Leopold and duke Adolph Frederick III. wore in the beginning a very promiſing aſpect; and that they met in a moſt friendly manner at Guſtrow, where the grandmother of the duke of Strelitz then reſided; but that the privy counſellor Petkum, calling duke Charles Leopold out of the room, where the two dukes were together, privately whiſpered ſomething to him, upon which the duke withdrew without ſo much as taking leave. The truth of this anecdote we cannot, indeed, warrant, but we can ſafely affirm, that ſomething like it muſt have ſuddenly happened, to alienate duke Charles Leopold beyond all hope of reconciliation. Thus, the diſſenſions between the courts of Schwerin and Strelitz, blazed forth again with new heat, and the flame was not a little encreaſed by an attempt of duke Charles Leopold to deprive duke Adolph Frederick III. of his right to the common ſovereignty of Roſtock, by a ſeparate agreement with that town, of which, we ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter; and his refuſing him a ſmall favour with regard to the convent of Rhunen. On the death of princeſs Mary Elizabeth, abbeſs of that houſe, in 1713, duke Adolph Frederick III. applied to duke Charles Leopold for his intereſt to have that dignity conferred on his daughter; the latter not only flatly refuſed him, but took poſſeſſion of the convent, and ſequeſtrated the revenues to his own uſe; a proceeding equally impolitic and ungenerous; for he could not expect that the nobility of the country, or even the other branches of his own family, would acquieſce in the alienation of an eſtate in which they had all a common concern; and, if they did not, the ladies in actual poſſeſſion muſt be too much exaſperated againſt him to pay any regard to his recommendation of an abbeſs; and it happened accordingly. Duke Adolph Frederick III. loſt no time in bringing the affair before the imperial court of judicature at Wetzlar, which determined,

mined, that by the will of duke Adolph Frederick I. the convent was to remain in *ſtatu quo*, with a right to the ladies to chuſe their abbeſs. Upon this, they unanimouſly choſe the daughter of their defender, the princeſs Maria Sophia, and the troops of the circle put her in poſſeſſion of her new dignity. This princeſs died in 1728, when princeſs Ulrica Sophia, daughter to duke Chriſtian Lewis II, was choſen by the ladies of the houſe to ſucceed her.

DURING theſe diſputes, the Ruſſian troops came into the country of Stargard; and duke Charles Leopold was accuſed of having contrived to bring them there, in order to be revenged on duke Adolph Frederick III. for not having ſided with him againſt the nobility. But duke Charles Leopold's magnanimity was certainly too great to ſtoop to ſo mean a revenge: beſides, this charge is ſufficiently confuted by theſe troubleſome gueſts ſhewing no more favour to duke Charles Leopold's manors in the territories of Schwerin, than to thoſe of the nobility in any part of Mecklenburg*.

Quarrel between duke CharlesLeopold and the nobility.

HAD duke Adolph Frederick III, been actually in a condition to aſſiſt duke Charles Leopold in his quarrel with the nobility of Mecklenburg, and yet refuſed to do it, his conduct would have entitled him, perhaps, to the thanks not only of the whole country, but of the ducal houſe in particular; for this quarrel had like to have proved fatal to both. We have already taken notice, that theſe variances had their beginning in the preceding century, under duke Lewis Chriſtian I. and that, notwithſtanding the agreement in 1701, they were ſtill kept alive by the nobility under duke Frederick William; that they chiefly turned on the ſubſidies raiſed for the defence of the country; and that, in 1712, the emperor iſſued a proviſional ſentence relative to that point in particular, till the other could be ſettled by an imperial commiſſion.

THESE differences, however, were not totally brought to a period at the acceſſion of duke Charles Leopold; but the outrages at that time committed by the foreign troops, who lived at

* Kluver, Franck.

diſcretion in the country, afforded great hopes that they ſpeedily would, by making it evident, that ſcarce any expence could be too great to guard againſt ſuch an evil. The duke accordingly made it his ſtudy to take advantage of this circumſtance; but the nobility ſoon perceiving, that he likewiſe intended to prevail on them, if poſſible, to increaſe their contributions, were incenſed at it to ſuch a decree, that they not only refuſed to go beyond the ſtipulations in 1712, but perſiſted in requiring a reſtitution of the ſurplus of their former contributions. In order, however, to avoid more diſagreeable meaſures, they deputed one of their body to the duke, to ſettle every thing relating to their privileges, and make ſome overtures towards an agreement with regard to all other points in diſpute between them; and he was to pave the way with the offer of a free-gift.

THIS deputy was the famous Hanoverian miniſter, baron Bernſtoff, who, beſides being intereſted in the quarrel, as poſſeſſed of ſome lands in Mecklenburg, had acquired ſuch conſideration in all the courts of Europe, as made his conſtituents deem him the propereſt perſon they could chuſe to work on the duke's mind; and perhaps he might have ſucceeded in his commiſſion, had he not unwarily told the duke, as the latter afterwards declared, that there were amongſt his nobility ſome of a perverſe diſpoſition, who would cut out work enough for him; for, as we have already obſerved, his highneſs had ſo much of Charles XIIth's temper in him, as to be only inflamed by menaces of oppoſition. Thus the moſt dexterous politicians ſometimes fail in their deſigns by not being thoroughly acquainted with the diſpoſitions of the perſons they have to treat with. Nor were the bulk of the nobility leſs miſtaken, perhaps, in this reſpect, than their deputy. Free-gifts from ſubjects to their ſovereign muſt be allowed to be, in themſelves, very flattering marks of their confidence and affection, and ſuch might be that now offered by the Mecklenburg nobility. But the duke thought proper to conſider it in another light. He looked upon it as a mere blandiſhment or bait to ſooth him into conceſſions detrimental to his prerogative, and therefore rejected it. Free-gifts, when often repeated, as in France,

France, become cuſtomary things; and may be juſtly deemed as burthens little leſs heavy than the common taxes impoſed by law, unleſs the ſoftneſs of the appellation, with which the compulſion is gilded over, may be ſufficient to induce a readineſs to give, which ſeldom attends the payment of ordinary impoſitions.

Diet of Sternberg in 1713.

In the year 1713, the duke convened another diet of his ſtates at Sternberg, though there was not the leaſt probability that it could produce a reconciliation, conſidering to what a degree both parties had been irritated againſt each other, by Bernſtoff's indiſcretion in the late negociation with which he had been charged, and the duke's peremptory reſolution in conſequence of that indiſcretion. The duke was not ignorant that he had to do with refractory ſtates; and the ſtates, now at laſt, knew that their ſovereign was a man not to recede a hair's breadth from his demands. Accordingly, on the duke's making a demand of their ſtated contingent of one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars, the intereſts of the country requiring it, the nobility, inſtead of an anſwer to his requiſition, delivered in a bill of complaints; one of the firſt of which was, that what had been already levied upon them, exceeded the uſual ſums; and, therefore, the ſurpluſſes for ſome years paſt ſhould be adjuſted, and what theſe ſurpluſſes amounted to, ſhould either be reſtored, or placed to the account of the preſent year. The nobility, beſides, required, that the manner of levying the taxes ſhould be left to themſelves, according to the imperial reſcript of the ſeventh of November 1712, and that their privileges ſhould be confirmed to them; declaring, that when theſe juſt demands were complied with, they would readily do homage. Thus both parties proving equally firm or obſtinate, no effectual advances were made towards an agreement. Struvius blames the duke's miniſters for the unhappy iſſue of this diet, and we ſhall not offer to contradict him. Yet, there is no denying, that among the nobility there were men of tempers not very favourable to harmony: at leaſt, the duke, in 1716, told Mr. Moltke, one of the members of the ſtates, to his face, that as baron Berenſtoff himſelf had ſaid there were, among

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the nobility, men of ſuch a perverſe diſpoſition, that he would find it no eaſy matter to live in peace and quietneſs with them. This Moltke, with all his palliatives, could not abſolutely deny. Thus the diet broke up without coming to any proper reſolution; and the duke levied the tax with a military force. Upon this, the nobility laid a complaint before the emperor, who, on hearing their plea, iſſued a reſcript, enjoining the duke to redreſs the grievances of the nobility, and make them eaſy: this decree was obtained notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous interpoſition of the duke's miniſter, who wanted neither parts nor zeal to place his maſter's cauſe in the faireſt light, and recommend it to his imperial majeſty, as appears by the well-penned manifeſto he delivered upon this occaſion, in anſwer to the claims of the nobility. But it was all to no purpoſe; the duke's counter-complaints could not obtain ſo much as a reading. Either the court of Vienna was invincibly perſuaded that the duke was in the wrong, or ſuſpected him of ſuch a partiality for Sweden, as made it their intereſt to curtail his power, that he might not more openly declare for that crown.

Diet of Sternberg in 1714.

ALL the effect of the imperial ſentence was, that in the diet of Sternberg, in 1714, the duke, inſtead of the annual contribution of one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars, now demanded one hundred and ſeventy thouſand. This new demand, however, was not altogether without foundation. It had been enacted by a reſolution of the empire, in 1702, conſtantly to keep on foot, for the defence of the empire, an army of eighty thouſand men; and the Mecklenburg contingent being too conſiderable to be anſwered by a yearly contribution of one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars, it was but reaſonable that the ſtates of the country, and particularly the nobility, ſhould make up the deficiency of fifty thouſand dollars. To this argument, however, the nobility made ſeveral objections; they alledged, that the act of the empire wanted the emperor's confirmation; that no meetings had been held for this purpoſe, either in the empire or in the circle of Lower Saxony; that ſcarce the ordinary taxes could

could be raiſed in the country, ſo much it had ſuffered from the violences of foreign troops. They farther required, that the diet might be put off, till the ſurplus of the former taxes ſhould be made out; and that, when it was, the contingent demanded of them for the preſent year ſhould be deducted from it. This gave ſo much offence to the duke, that, in October, he iſſued an ordinance, called the *edict of contribution*, impoſing a poll tax, a land tax, and a duty upon cattle; and charging the nobility with an unprecedented act of diſobedience. Theſe impoſitions, the nobility, on their ſide, complained of as ſo many new grievances, beſides thoſe which they had already repreſented to the court of Vienna; adding, that the money now required of them had been raiſed to three times the amount of the ſtated ſum, and that the produce was paid into the military cheſt. But the duke, notwithſtanding, proceeded to levy it by military execution on all ſuch as did not make their payments in due time. This produced a freſh complaint to the aulic council, which being accompanied with another concerning the violation of their privileges by the duke, made ſuch an impreſſion on that tribunal, that it iſſued a reſcript on the twenty-fourth of December 1714, enjoining the duke to deſiſt from all ſuch proceedings; and pay, within two months, the ſums he had already levied into the provincial treaſury. Thus both ſides had the mortification to ſee all the ſteps they had taken to bring each other to terms, unhappily defeated, without the comfort of being able to ſay they had not themſelves contributed to their diſgrace.

The duke determines to reduce the nobility to obedience.

Hereupon the duke, determined to aſſert his dignity at any rate, and to compel the refractory to obedience. His firſt meaſure was, to oblige thoſe of the nobility who held any employment at his court, or had any favour to aſk of him, to take and ſubſcribe an oath, by which they, in the moſt ſolemn manner, not only renounced all the ſuits which his nobility were then carrying on againſt him, but bound themſelves not to engage in any ſuch ſuits for the future; and to ſubmit themſelves, upon every occaſion, to all his injunctions and commands. This ſtep did not a little weaken the cauſe of the nobility, though many obſerved

ſerved their oath no longer than they had ſomething to fear or hope from the ſovereign, who had taken advantage of that principle of ſelf-intereſt ſo common to all men. It muſt, however, be owned, that their conduct would have been far leſs exceptionable, had they, at firſt, thrown up their poſts, and renounced their expectations, rather than ſign an inſtrument, which could not but ſhock and wound their conſciences. The duke, however, not content with this method, as probably too ſlow for ſuch a fiery temper, delivered a manifeſto to the aulic council, on the eighteenth of June, in vindication of his prerogative; and ſolliciting a *reſtitutio in integrum*, or maintenance, in thoſe territorial prerogatives and powers, which, agreeably to the conſtitution of the Germanic body, the ſtates of the empire have an undoubted right to exerciſe over their vaſſals and ſubjects; and effectual aſſiſtance againſt his nobility who obſtructed him in that exerciſe. But, though this piece was drawn up with great deference, and the beſt reaſoning the caſe would admit, it had no effect. He therefore reſolved to try another expedient. After confirming the ſeparation of the cities from the incorporation with the nobility, which had taken place under his brother, duke Frederick William, in 1708, and of which we have already ſpoken, he began to practiſe upon the city of Roſtock, which had held out againſt all the arts and arguments of his brother, to make it ſeparate from the body of the nobility, to which it belonged as a member; inſtead of being barely united to that body by incorporation, like the other cities. But this was a work of no ſmall difficulty, as ſhe had her own particular grievances to complain of; and, by continuing united to that body, might expect to derive extraordinary advantage from that union in obtaining redreſs. Theſe grievances were, an infringement of their right of venery, or hunting; of the ſuppreſſion of the exciſe; the fortifying of the city, and gartiſoning it with troops; and ſome others of the ſame kind. Farther, the inhabitants conſidered the duke's reſiding among them as a grievance, conſidering the opportunity it gave him of keeping them in conſtant awe; and they had accordingly complained of it to the aulic council.

council. But the duke being now inclined to bring all matters in diſpute to an amicable concluſion, the ſooner to weaken his nobility, ſtruck up, in 1715, a ſeparate compact with the city companies. This, however, the magiſtrates proteſted againſt in the year following; but, on his putting ſome of them under arreſt, who were, however, ſoon after ſet at liberty, all parties agreed to a new reverſale, or compact, and perfected it on the firſt of Auguſt of that year. By, or in this inſtrument, all parties were to forget what was paſt; and the magiſtrates not only withdrew their proteſt againſt the agreement between the duke and the city companies, but confirmed that agreement. The city likewiſe, with a ſaving of her rights, engaged to renounce her incorporation with the nobility, and in no wiſe enter into any future connections with them; to fortify Warnemunde harbour with a baſtion, and deſiſt from the proceſs or ſuit of Roſtock againſt the duke of Mecklenburg. The nobility objected to the validity of this agreement, and violently oppoſed the execution of it, ſtill uſing the name of the city of Roſtock as a party in their diſputes with the duke; though ſhe formally declared to this prince, that ſhe had no manner of concern with the nobility, as appears from the memorial of the latter, dated at Ratzeburg, on the fifteenth of January 1718, and the duke's refutation of it, dated the twenty-ninth of March following, and the appendages to both*.

War in Pomerania.

In the mean time, the northern allies were carrying on a war in Pomerania, with equal vigour and ſucceſs, againſt Charles XII. king of Sweden; when the vicinity of their armies brought freſh calamities upon Mecklenburg, notwithſtanding the late connection and alliance between duke Charles Leopold and Peter the Great, the life and ſoul of that confederacy. Theſe calamities were ſtill farther increaſed to a great degree in the year 1716, when Wiſmar being a ſecond time beſieged, and at laſt taken, the whole Ruſſian army entered the country, in or-

* Kluver, Struvius, Franck, Buckholtz.

der to be tranſported to Schonen in Sweden. The intent of this expedition was to aſſiſt the king of Denmark againſt Charles XII. who had made great preparations to attack that kingdom. The Daniſh monarch being apprehenſive of his deſign, formed a project of attempting a deſcent in Schonen, in which he deſired the czar's concurrence. Peter the Great promiſed to aſſiſt him with land and ſea forces, but when every thing was ready for the expedition, he ſtarted ſome objections againſt his joining in the attempt; and, at length, refuſed to fulfil his engagement. Upon which, he marched his troops back from Denmark, and quartered them in Mecklenburg, under the pretext of acting as mediator between the duke and his nobles. The heavy load which the ſubſiſting of the Ruſſian troops brought on the country, obliged the duke to ſummon ſeveral diets; but the nobility, inſtead of aſſenting to the contributions, laid before him the aulic council's reſcript. The duke, provoked at this behaviour, made uſe of the Ruſſian forces to humble and chaſtiſe ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed opponents amongſt that body, whom he conſidered as no better than incendiaries. That the Ruſſian troops were guilty of great outrages and extortions upon this occaſion cannot be denied; but whether he had expreſſy invited the Ruſſian army into Mecklenburg for that purpoſe, or had at leaſt deſired of Peter the Great that the troops intended for Schonen, might direct their march through his dominions; and whether he was the cauſe of all the outrages and extortions they committed, while they continued in the country, and by which the eſtates of the nobility, and the territories of Strelitz ſuffered ſo greatly, may well be diſputed. Both decency and policy forbad him to refuſe the emperor of Ruſſia leave for his troops to march through Mecklenburg, in their way to Schonen; and even, as a good prince, he might, when contributions became abſolutely neceſſary, order military execution upon a few of the moſt refractory, with a view to ſtrike a terror into the reſt, and thereby prevent the ruin of the whole country, by an impoſition of unequal burthens; and that this was probably the caſe, may be inferred from his own particular domains not having been ſpared

in

in the general devaſtation. It is but natural, indeed, to ſuppoſe, that thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the contributions required by the Ruſſians, being for the moſt part the ſame with ſuch as had before oppoſed his own rights, he gave himſelf no concern about what they ſuffered on this occaſion; and it is equally natural, that the Ruſſian officers and ſoldiers, after ſeveral times receiving orders to live at diſcretion on the eſtates of ſome noblemen, ſhould contract ſuch a habit of licentiouſneſs, as to commit great violences and outrages in their different quarters. Be that as it will, the duke appears to have adopted wrong meaſures to accompliſh his ends; for, though nine thouſand of the Ruſſians were tranſported to Zealand in 1716, yet, on their return in October following, their rapines and extortions grew to ſuch a height, that the complaints which the nobility delivered on the occaſion, as uſual, into the aulic council, are full of very melancholy pictures; and that there was no great exaggeration in theſe repreſentations is evident, from the greater part of the nobility leaving their eſtates to the diſcretion of the Ruſſians, and retiring into the electorates of Brandenburg and Hanover, a committee of deputies remaining at Ratzeburg, to be at hand for the better obſerving the courſe of affairs. After all, the nobility themſelves, were not free from blame on this occaſion. It appears, by what we have ſaid already, that they were rather too ſtiff in not yielding to neceſſity. They were, beſides, ſo over tenacious of their privileges, that they laid ſome trifling neglects to the duke's charge, as injuries of the greateſt importance: for inſtance, his nominating, in 1716, three new provincial land-counſellors, without their approbation. Amongſt theſe was Mr. Moltke, a man of ſuch integrity and abilities, that the nobility themſelves could not have recommended a more proper perſon. They pretended, that the ſovereign could not confer that dignity on any man, without their recommendation. But, in our opinion, as the perſon in himſelf was not exceptionable, and the office of little conſequence, they ſhould have overlooked whatever little irregularity there might have been in the promotion; unleſs, indeed, they were afraid that

their ſilence or conceſſion, would be made a precedent againſt them. But, in the heat of conteſt, every thing is apt to be magnified, and often without regard to decency or truth; eſpecially where the parties, as in this caſe, expect powerful ſupport. But here the duke had, it is plain, very much the advantage over his nobility, by the preſence of the Ruſſian forces, with whoſe monarch he was ſo intimately connected; and when the ſcale turned in their favour, by the tranſporting of theſe troops into Zealand, it did not long continue ſo, conſidering how ſpeedily they returned.

Complaints of Adolph Frederick III. duke of Strelitz.

Duke Adolph Frederick III. of Strelitz, was in particular ſo much a ſufferer by the enormities, exactions, and outrages of the Ruſſian troops, that, attributing theſe depredations to the inſtigation of duke Charles Leopold, in conſequence of the miſunderſtanding between them, though the latter denied the charge, he joined the nobility in applications for aſſiſtance and redreſs, both to the imperial court and the diet of Ratiſbon. Upon this the former iſſued an *excitatorium* to the directors of the circle of Lower Saxony, and an *auxiliatorium* to the circle of Upper Saxony, to relieve Mecklenburg from the oppreſſions of the Ruſſians, with ſundry reſcripts to the dukes and the nobility; beſides ſeveral mandates to the ſame purpoſe, promulgated by the diet of Ratiſbon. But no ſuitable effect followed, partly owing to a juſt dread of the Ruſſian monarch; and, likewiſe, of the king of Pruſſia, with whom duke Charles Leopold had contracted an alliance; and partly to an apprehenſion which prevailed, that the czar Peter, between whom and the king of Denmark a difference had ariſen about the enterprize againſt Schonen, would clap up a peace with Sweden, paſs over into Germany with a great army in order to recover the provinces wreſted from the Swediſh crown, and aſſiſt duke Charles Leopold, to the imminent danger of the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony. Mecklenburg might, therefore, have groaned much longer under the laſh of the Ruſſians, but that the emperor of Germany himſelf could not be free from apprehenſions ſo long as they continued in that country. Hence it came that

that he never deſiſted from his mediatorial inſtances, till, at laſt, in conſequence of a very ſtrong repreſentation from the court of Vienna, in 1717, the czar thought proper to withdraw his troops from Mecklenburg; where ſcarce any thing was now left for their avarice to plunder: the country indeed was too much exhauſted to maintain them any longer, and this ſeems to have been one of the principal motives for their departure. However, it was February 1717 before any of them left the province, and then field marſhal Czermetof withdrew but twelve battalions out of thirty-two, with which it had been burdened. The remaining twenty, under general Weide, did not evacuate the country till the June following; and, when they went, ſwept away with them every thing they could lay their hands on.

Some writers, taking it for granted that duke Charles Leopold connived at the licentiouſneſs of the Ruſſian troops, attribute his behaviour to the nobility's refuſing to pay certain contingents of the circle. But others are of a contrary opinion, and impute all their outrages to an immediate order of the czar, the nobility having been wanting in reſpect to him. Certain it is, that at the congreſs of Brunſwick, the Ruſſian miniſter complained, that when his maſter came with the great ducheſs into the country, the nobility had not paid him the uſual compliments; and had, beſides, on every occaſion, peremptorily oppoſed the Ruſſian intereſt. But it ſeems very likely, that all theſe cauſes concurred to effect that, which is only aſcribed to ſome one or more, each ſide being deſirous to weaken the other. The czar having at that time ordered ſome of the nobility to be put under arreſt, the duke interceded for them, till they were diſcharged; and hence it may be inferred, that his intentions with regard to his nobility were very far from being ſo black as too many have ſurmiſed, and that he aimed at nothing but what was for the general good of the country, though ſuch as had particular intereſts to ſerve, affected not to ſee it. We have already taken notice of ſome grounds upon which he might have very juſtly ordered the Ruſſian troops to live at diſcretion upon ſuch

noblemen as refuſed paying their ſhare of the contributions required by theſe troubleſome gueſts, when there was no poſſibility of rejecting their demand; and likewiſe of a converſation, in 1716, between him and Mr. Moltke, concerning a tax of ſixteen thouſand dollars. Though it would be too prolix, notwithſtanding the curiouſneſs of the matter, to give the whole of that converſation, we cannot help obſerving, that he was ſo touched with Mr. Moltke's repreſentation of the diſtreſſes the country groaned under, that he ſhed tears, and *proteſted, that it was intirely againſt his will and intention; but the ſpoilers were too ſtrong to be reſiſted; that would the nobility but take any ſteps towards a reconciliation, he would gladly meet them in order to compoſe their unhappy differences.* He likewiſe complained of the obſtinacy of the nobility, which had been ſignified to him by baron Bernſtorff. Moltke ſpared no pains to avail himſelf of theſe pacific ſentiments of the duke, to inſtill the ſame into the nobility, and particularly the committee of deputies; but all his labour was loſt. We will venture to affirm in the duke's favour, that, though of an inflexible firmneſs, he was ſo full of candour and probity, that even at this juncture, his reſentment againſt his nobility never roſe to ſo high a pitch as to leave no room to expect a reconciliation.

Diet of Sternberg in 1716.

THIS is indeed evident, from his ſummoning the diet at Sternberg in the latter end of the year 1716, that he and his nobility might with joint earneſtneſs endeavour to bring their diſputes to an amicable concluſion; for it was in conſequence of his converſation with Mr. Moltke he ſummoned it. But though the writ iſſued for that purpoſe contained the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that no violences ſhould be offered any one; and unqueſtionably theſe aſſurances might have been ſafely relied on; neither the nobility, nor the committee of deputies, came to the meeting, as they apprehended they could not rely on him, on account of the Ruſſian troops, with which the country ſtill ſwarmed; and they made no ſcruple of avowing their ſuſpicions, and the grounds of them, in ſeveral memorials which they publiſhed to juſtify their non-appearance. Nay, they went ſo far as to petition

tion for an adjournment of the diet which the emperor had before granted at their requeſt. This not only confirmed the duke in his ſuſpicions touching the ſincerity of his nobility, but, likewiſe, exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, as implying, or rather avowing, a miſtruſt in his word and honour, that, ſome time before the Ruſſians began to leave the country, he took two of their regiments into his pay, and augmented his own troops; and then, on the 17th of July, 1717, before the total departure of the Ruſſians, ſummoned the committee of deputies to Schwerin, to deliberate on ways and means to provide for the maintance of theſe additional forces. But very few anſwered the ſummons; the majority continuing at Ratzeburg, and frankly pleading the grand principle of ſelf-preſervation for their abſence. To ſuch as appeared, the propoſal was read, that the vaſſals of the country ſhould pay an adequate contribution towards the maintenance of the troops. But, though they might from fear have feigned a voluntary aſſent, at leaſt ſo the duke alledges in his memorial of 1718 to the diet; yet, ſome time after, there came out a proteſt from the committee of deputies at Ratzeburg, importing, that it was contrary to the rights of the nobility, their quota to the one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars for expenditures in defence of the country, not exceeding thirty-five thouſand or thirty-ſix thouſand dollars per annum, the duke's manors and the cities being bound to ſupply the remainder; that the hiring of foreign troops was, in ſome meaſure, illegal, and that the nobility were not in the leaſt obliged to quarter them. The duke apprehending from this warm proteſt, that things might at laſt come to a revolt, kept augmenting his troops; and, in December 1717, renewed his alliance with the king of Pruſſia, who expreſsly ſtipulated to aſſiſt him againſt his turbulent vaſſals. Theſe events ſucceeded each other too rapidly to leave either party any time to cool; and the duke, in particular, became ſo irritated againſt the nobility, that he augmented his troops to twelve thouſand men, and then uſed them againſt his refractory vaſſals, in the ſame manner as he had before employed the Ruſſians. He ordered repartitions to be made; he impoſed rations and portions, levying

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ing them by execution; by which means, he contrived to ſqueeze out of them thirty-five thouſand dollars a month, being nearly as much as they had been charged with for the whole year. The ſoldiers, no doubt, exceeded their orders in many things, and availed themſelves of this compendious method of raiſing ſupplies, to make ſome proviſion for themſelves. In the heat, however, of theſe hoſtile levies, duke Charles Leopold ſeveral times invited the nobility to a general diet, by way of preliminary to a final agreement; but very few appeared. Thus the duke ſeeing the advances made by him treated with ſo much contempt, became more incenſed then ever; and accordingly iſſued an edict on the 3d of September, 1717, in which he not only charged the nobility with unſupportable obſtinacy and an audaciouſneſs bordering on rebellion, but declared that all thoſe who did not appear at Schwerin on the firſt of October following, would forfeit their eſtates.

Diet of Sternberg in 1717.

CONCERNING the monthly ſum of thirty-five thouſand dollars, the duke, on the 7th of October, 1717, ſummoned a diet, to meet at Sternberg the ninth of November following; and now, indeed, ſome deputies, and others of the nobility made their appearance; but, on the duke's recommending to them the maintenance of the troops, they excuſed themſelves partly on the ſcore of inability, and partly on account of the abſence of the committee of deputies and the provincial counſellors; who had, nevertheleſs, addreſſed to ſuch as aſſiſted at that aſſembly an exhortation, which made all the impreſſion they could wiſh for, and was abundantly complied with to the utmoſt of their deſires. However, the reſolution of this thin diet was publiſhed on the fifteenth of November, and the nobility were charged with nine thouſand portions, or twenty-ſeven thouſand dollars a month, valuing each portion at three dollars; but the portions of thoſe who had not made their appearance, were raiſed to twelve dollars, ſo as to make the total payment of the whole body of the nobility amount to about thirty-five thouſand. After the riſing of this diet, the nobility, on the 8th of January, 1718, declared that they were

were willing to pay the monthly portions to the amount of twenty-ſeven thouſand dollars, but with a ſaving of their rights, particularly that of continuing the ſuit they were engaged in to obtain redreſs. But, as this memorial was drawn up by the committee of deputies, who had kept themſelves at Ratzeburg, the duke, inſtead of abiding by their offer, cauſed the contributions, ſpecified in the reſolutions of the late diet, to be levied in the ſevereſt manner.

The nobility ſend deputies to Vienna.

In the mean time, the nobility ſent two deputies with their complaints to Vienna. Theſe deputies were Mr. Rhaden, and the celebrated Mecklenburg hiſtorian, Mr. Beehr, who was likewiſe charged with the affairs of the duke of Strelitz. Mr. Beehr was a man of great parts, and no leſs moderation, as appears by his *Res Mecklenburgicæ*; for though this work was written, in a great meaſure, in ſupport of the rights of the nobility and commons, and therefore may be looked upon as a controverſial piece, yet, for diſcretion and temper, it ſurpaſſes every other performance which appeared on that ſide of the queſtion.

The nobility, by their deputies, delivered in a refutation of the charges againſt them contained in the duke's edict of the third of September 1717, in which they cleared themſelves from the imputation of all rebellious meaſures, or even intentions; they likewiſe applied to his imperial majeſty for a *conſervatorium**, in order to obtain aſſiſtance againſt any future violences, and a reparation of the damages they had already ſuſtained, which they made to amount to ſome millions; and there is reaſon to believe, that this calculation was the moſt exact of any that could be ſupported by poſitive proofs. By theſe pieces they obtained on the third of September an *indultum moratorium* for five years; and this mandate, on the twenty-ſecond of the next month, was followed by a commiſſion from the emperor to the elector of Hanover and the duke of Wolfenbuttle, to enforce it, if neceſſary, by military execution. Mr. Rhaden himſelf, brought this commiſ-

The emperor iſſues out a commiſſion againſt the duke of Mecklenburg.

* The author has thought proper to make uſe of the terms of the imperial chancery through the whole courſe of this proceſs.

ſion to Hanover and Wolfenbuttle; and, on the ſeventeenth of November, the emperor acquainted the ſtates of the empire with his having iſſued it. But the execution of it was, notwithſtanding, delayed to the 19th of February, the duke having attempted to juſtify himſelf by a circular letter to the ſtates of the empire, and by what was termed an irrefragable memorial to the diet.

On the fifteenth of January 1718, the committee of deputies obtained their requeſts in both the courts of Hanover and Wolfenbuttle, for putting the commiſſion in execution, and publiſhed a confutation of the duke's elaborate memorial; which confutation deſerves to be taken particular notice of, as attacking that prince with unuſual, and indeed very unjuſtifiable harſhneſs and acrimony. The author, amongſt other things, endeavours to prove, that the duke's diſpoſitions for the defence of the country, as he termed them, were impracticable; or, if practicable, uſeleſs, or rather detrimental, and, of courſe, highly unreaſonable. It does not belong to us to decide on the occaſion: but, we muſt take notice, that the author ſeems under a miſtake, in thinking that the eſtates of the Mecklenburg nobility were of no greater value at the time he wrote, than in 1630, when there raged a moſt cruel and calamitous war in the heart of the country; and that the contributions ſhould be ſettled by the ſtandard of that year. Beſides, the nobility's claims might have been ſufficiently maintained, without his affirming ſo palpable an untruth (it being notorious, that their eſtates had been trebled in value within the laſt hundred years); for it is not on the value and produce of their eſtates that their privileges reſt, but on the patents of former princes confirmed by the emperor. After all, this was not the only inſtance in which the behaviour of the committee of deputies gave offence, even to many ſenſible perſons among the nobility themſelves. Elevated with the emperor's grant of aſſiſtance, they, in every paper, threw aſide the reſpect they undoubtedly owed to duke Charles Leopold as their ſovereign; and particularly in a circular letter to the nobility, dated the ſixteenth of May 1718, they exhorted them to be upon their guard, and put themſelves in good hands, conſidering the little

Paper war between the duke and the nobility.

little fidelity with which the duke obſerved all the treaties made with him. Some individuals of the nobility publiſhed other pieces in the ſame ſtrain, though, it muſt be owned, to the great concern of many of their own body, who had a larger ſhare of temper and capacity. A flagrant inſtance of this licentiouſneſs is to be ſeen in a letter, addreſſed to the duke by the widow Nogendank, conſiſting chiefly of paſſages taken from the Bible, but very uncourteouſly applied to that prince. Now this inexcuſable rudeneſs of ſome individuals of the nobility reaching the duke's ears, ſerved greatly to widen the breach between them; as he unfortunately attributed it to the whole body, and, of courſe, conceived ſtill more unfavourable ideas of them than any he had hitherto entertained. Nor did he confine himſelf to mere ſuſpicions and reſentment: he ordered the eſtates of all thoſe to be confiſcated, who refuſed to take and ſubſcribe an oath, that they were not concerned in theſe writings. He likewiſe publiſhed ſeveral pieces, to prevail, if poſſible, with the diet of Ratiſbon, to admit his memorial to be brought before the dictature of the empire; and, on the fifth of February, of the ſame year, 1718, ſent a very elegant apology to the emperor. In anſwer to the firſt of theſe pieces, the committee of deputies publiſhed, about the ſixteenth of the month following, a memorial, addreſſed likewiſe to all the ſtates of the empire, confuting the duke's allegations. The duke next ſollicited the elector of Hanover not to permit the committee of deputies to reſide any longer at Ratzeburg; but not ſucceeding in his requeſt, he commenced a criminal proſecution againſt them, and confiſcated their eſtates.

The duke confiſcates the eſtates of the committee of the nobility.

The duke, however, ſtill deſirous of an amicable agreement, on the twenty-firſt of June 1718, convened a diet at Sternberg for that purpoſe; and it took place, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the committee of deputies to prevent it. In this meeting, the duke remitted part of the contributions required from the nobility and country, but with the delivery of a new provincial ſeal, and the prohibition of keeping a correſpondence with the abſent members. This new provincial ſeal raiſed a great clamour; the nobility, or rather the committee of deputies, be-

Diet of Sternberg in 1718.

ing of opinion, that the duke's cauſing a new ſeal to be made, without their privity or conſent, in lieu of the former which had been carried out of the country, was illegal. This they chiefly founded upon the aulic council's having acknowledged the legality of the committee at Ratzeburg; and that, of courſe, their ſeal was to ſuperſede the other. The committee went ſtill farther; for, on the diet's riſing on the firſt of July, they proteſted againſt all its tranſactions; and the duke, not to be behind-hand with them, ordered the fiſcal's ſuit againſt them to be continued, though they had again appealed to the emperor; moreover, their memorial, with ſome other pieces of theirs, was publicly burnt at Roſtock, Schwerin, Guſtrow, and Parchim. The duke, however, on the twentieth of July, convened another diet at Guſtrow, and, contrary to the exhortation of the committee of deputies, a great number of the nobility repaired to it; the provincial counſellors of the duke's appointment made ſome overtures towards an agreement; but, the blind ſpirit of oppoſition ſtill prevailing, the aſſembly broke up without the leaſt good effect; and its bad ſucceſs was partly owing to the diſſuaſion and proteſt of the committee of deputies.

The king of Pruſſia offers his mediation between the duke and the ſtates.

THE duke all this while carried on the executions againſt the abſentees; and they, on their ſide, ſtrenuouſly proſecuted their complaints againſt him before the aulic council, which at length iſſued an order for the execution of the ſentence they had already given in their favour. But the king of Pruſſia obtained a ſhort reſpite for the duke, by offering to the court of Vienna to mediate an agreement between the contending parties; and he left no ſtone unturned to effect it, diſpatching envoys for that purpoſe, to the duke and to the committee of deputies. To the firſt he ſent baron Kniphauſen, who had gained great reputation in ſeveral important embaſſies, and was deemed a very dextrous negotiator. His miniſter to the committee was lieutenant-colonel Rieben. The duke declared, that the executions ſhould be diſcontinued on the committee's coming to an amicable reſolution. But the committee would not liſten to any overture, till the executions had actually ceaſed. This condition the

duke

duke conſidered as a breach of the reſpect due to him, whilſt the committee, on their ſide, judged the condition inſiſted on by him detrimental to their rights. Be that as it will, his Pruſſian majeſty urged the duke to relax ſomething in that article; and in the committee there were not wanting many who moved for an amicable explanation. But the heart-burnings and jealouſies, on both ſides, were too violent to admit of palliatives, though approved or preſcribed by one of the wiſeſt, as well as moſt powerful of the northern princes.

The commiſſioners ordered to march an army of execution into Mecklenburg.

HEREUPON, the commiſſioners, who were the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, and the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, in November 1718, prepared to march ſome troops into Mecklenburg. It muſt appear extraordinary that this commiſſion was not directed to the king of Pruſſia, as co-director, on account of Magdeburg, of the circle of Lower Saxony. Some are of opinion, that it was becauſe his majeſty, having before eſpouſed the duke's cauſe, was under a ſuſpicion of partiality. But had that been really the caſe, the duke would have excepted againſt the elector of Hanover, who had no leſs favoured the committee of deputies. Some are inclined to think, that, conſidering the good underſtanding which then prevailed between their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties, the latter declined the commiſſion out of a compliment to the former. We find, however, in the Memoirs of Brandenburg, that the king of Pruſſia complained to the court of Vienna, at his not being nominated in the decree of commiſſion; and that the anſwer given him was, that it would be againſt the laws of the empire to entruſt the king with the ſequeſtration of that territory, becauſe he had the expectancy of the ſucceſſion of Mecklenburg. It is likewiſe, to be obſerved, that, by the uſage of the empire, ſuch commiſſions are not always confined to certain houſes, of which we have already ſeen an inſtance, when Holſtein and the biſhop of Lubeck were commiſſioners. Another cauſe might be the miſunderſtanding which at that time prevailed between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, through the artifices of Clement, an Hun-

gatian impoſtor; and that this alone, and not any ſuſpicion of partiality in the Pruſſian monarch, was the reaſon for not naming him a commiſſioner in this affair, is hence evident; that, though in alliance with the duke, he forbore ſending him any ſuccour on the occaſion*, at the ſame time that he did every thing becoming a good neighbour to bring matters to an amicable agreement; and when the good harmony between the courts of Vienna and Berlin came to be reſtored, the emperor made no difficulty of addreſſing the *conſervatorialia* to the king of Pruſſia alſo. The long ſuſpenſion of the commiſſion was undoubtedly owing to the repreſentations of the czar, whom the German potentates were unwilling to irritate; for the emperor Charles was ſtill at war with Spain, and the king of Sweden ſtill living, and endeavouring after a peace with Ruſſia. Theſe were circumſtances ſufficient to raiſe apprehenſions that Charles might not only come into Germany again, but bring with him the Ruſſians; and, in all probability, this might have happened, had not that enterpriſing prince been killed before Frederickſhall, in 1718; the foundation of what treaties might be then in agitation between Ruſſia and Sweden being thereby effectually overturned, the war was renewed by both theſe ſtates with great violence, ſo as to leave neither of them at liberty to aſſiſt the duke.

The army of execution marches into Mecklenburg.

THE officer appointed to command the Hanoverian and Wolfenbuttle troops that were to ſerve on this occaſion, was general Bulow; and he was, beſides, to act as ſub-delegated commiſſioner of the execution. His troops conſiſted of twelve battalions and twenty ſquadrons of Hanoverians, and ſixteen hundred Wolfenbuttle infantry, making, in all, thirteen thouſand men. General Bulow was charged to aſſiſt the nobility, to redreſs manifeſt grievances, and to enquire into ſuch as were not yet

* The Memoirs of Brandenburg aſſign another reaſon why the king of Pruſſia did not ſtand up in defence of the duke, namely, that king George was become mediator of the peace which Pruſſia was then negotiating in Sweden, and therefore it behoved the Pruſſian monarch, by all means, to keep fair with the king of Great Britain.

proved.

proved. He delayed his march, in conſequence of the ſteps taken by the king of Pruſſia to bring matters to an amicable determination; till, at length, the committee of deputies itſelf appearing utterly averſe to a friendly accommodation, the emperor, on the ſeventh of January 1719, iſſued a ſecond order for the immediate execution of the commiſſion.

HEREUPON general Bulow began his march for Mecklenburg; and, on the ſecond, third, and fourth of March, paſſed the Elbe, at Altenburg, Tollenſpieker, and Boitzenburg, and immediately made himſelf maſter of the laſt of theſe places, and particularly of the toll-houſe, from which the duke's arms were taken down to make room for thoſe of the emperor, at the ſame time that the revenue collected there was paid into the execution cheſt. The duke, on receiving advice of general Bulow's march, ſent Mr. Thielke, as his miniſter, to Hanover, with a declaration, that he would ſubmit to the emperor's will; and aſſurances, that he had already diſpatched an expreſs to Vienna, with a declaration to the ſame purpoſe. But, the execution being ſet on foot, theſe declarations availed nothing. However, the duke, on hearing that the army of execution had entered the frontiers, thought proper to back theſe reſolutions by a *decree of reſtitution*; but this new act of ſubmiſſion met with as little regard as the firſt. The forces continued their march, and took poſſeſſion of every place they came to. General Bulow likewiſe ſent two majors to the duke at Roſtock, with the emperor's *conſervatorialia* and *avocatoria*, which, the duke not being in the way, were delivered to Mr. Wolfrath, one of the privy council, on his giving a receipt for thoſe inſtruments. The general, likewiſe, iſſued a proclamation for the fugitive nobility to return home, and take poſſeſſion of their eſtates, which they ſpeedily did; and another, ordering all the officers of the revenue, to pay it into the execution cheſt. This was a ſevere blow to the duke, as it totally diſabled him from making any farther reſiſtance, at the ſame time that his enemies were every day gaining ground upon him.

COUNT

COUNT Schwerin*, then general in the ſervice of duke Charles Leopold, ſent Waldow's regiment of horſe, and the two Ruſſian regiments of foot, under colonel Waldow himſelf, to Boitzenburg, to oppoſe this invaſion. General Bulow had ſecured Boitzenburg before colonel Waldow could reach it; and, on his falling back, ſent the Hanoverians to purſue him; but they afterwards turned aſide towards Gomelin on the river Scale, in order to ſecure the paſs of Walſmohlen, and hem in the Mecklenburgers, whilſt the latter marched back to Wittenborg. The firſt of theſe purpoſes the Hanoverians accompliſhed; but general Schwerin having received intelligence of it, while they were making the neceſſary diſpoſitions to accompliſh the ſecond, he, in the night of the fifth of March, led his Mecklenburgers to the paſs, where a body of Hanoverians, under lieutenant-colonel Delleur, made a very ſtout defence, but were at length obliged to yield to ſuperior numbers, and diſlodged. Upon this, general Bulow, who was near enough to hear the firing, immediately marched with three regiments of horſe to colonel Delleur's relief. But it was broad day before he arrived; and then, finding Walſmohlen in the hands of the Mecklenburgers, and general Schwerin poſted on a neighbouring plain, he immediately attacked him. But the action, though ſmart, was not attended with any deciſive advantage to either ſide; except that of Schwerin's retiring to the town of Schwerin, and Bulow's following him thither, and ſitting down before the place, on the eighth of the ſame month. This action was followed by ſeveral letters between the two commanders in chief, in which each accuſed the other of being the aggreſſor; and Bulow particularly inſiſted on a categorical anſwer to the following articles within forty-eight hours. Firſt, Whether he had written orders to oppreſs the nobility: Second, Whether he would reſtore the cattle and horſes taken away from the eſtates of the nobility: Third, Whether he would, without delay, ſend the Ruſ-

Action at Walſmohlen.

* This was the celebrated marſhal Schwerin, who ſo long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Pruſſian ſervice, and was killed at the battle of Prague.

ſians

ſians out of the country. But all that Schwerin could do with regard to theſe three articles, was to refer Bulow to the duke, who was by this time ſet out for Berlin.

The duke diſmiſſes his troops.

THE duke, in conſideration of major-general Schwerin's conduct on this occaſion, made him lieutenant-general; yet he ordered him, notwithſtanding, to evacuate the town of Schwerin, and to leave only one hundred men to garriſon the caſtle. The general, upon this, took poſt under the cannon of Roſtock, from whence, on the fourth of March, the duke had ſet out for Berlin. The end of his journey thither, was to obtain the mediation of that court for an amicable agreement, but the king of Pruſſia gave him to underſtand, that the beſt thing he could do, in his preſent circumſtances, was to comply with the emperor's orders; which was another evident proof of his Pruſſian majeſty's impartiality. In conſequence of this advice, the duke ſent inſtructions to general Schwerin, not only to relinquiſh Roſtock and Guſtrow, but to march with all his troops out of the country. The general accordingly quitted Roſtock on the nineteenth of March, having firſt evacuated Guſtrow. The Ruſſians went home through Pomerania and Poland; but the Mecklenburgers and Germans, except a few ſent to garriſon Domitz, were all diſbanded. Thus the duke retained but two places in all his dominions, the caſtle of Schwerin, and the town of Domitz; and if the garriſon in the latter amounted to ſomewhat more than one thouſand men, that of the former made but one hundred; and theſe too were left there by general Schwerin himſelf. This diſarming of himſelf was the beſt ſtep the duke could poſſibly take to bring about an agreement with his nobility, as being a manifeſt proof of his ſincere reſolution to ſubmit to that authority which had a right to judge both. But matters had been carried to ſuch lengths, that the nobility, inſtead of liſtening to any terms, left the diſpute to a judicial iſſue.

The Hanoverians take poſſeſſion of the country.

UPON the evacuation of Mecklenburg by the troops of the country, the army of execution ſpread themſelves every where, and took poſſeſſion of every place, even of Schwerin, the caſtle of that city and Domitz excepted; to which there was now a

neceſſity of the duke's court removing its reſidence. On the twenty-fifth of April a court was erected at Roſtock, to enquire into the complaints of the nobility, though the duke, having obtained a paſſport for Mr. Petkum, had ſent him to general Bulow, with the moſt ſolemn declarations of his ſincere deſire to come to an agreement, as was ſufficiently manifeſt by his having already diſmiſſed his forces. But all the ſatisfaction Mr. Petkum could obtain from the general, was being referred by him to the ſubdelegate commiſſion, which he was then upon opening.

The ſubdelegate commiſſion opened at Roſtock.

THIS commiſſion conſiſted of perſons of rank from Hanover and Wolfenbuttle, with general Bulow, as preſident, at their head. The deputies of the nobility were alſo allowed a ſeat in this tribunal. But the duke, inſtead of ſending any miniſter to it, made all his applications to the emperor himſelf. The directory of Lower Saxony appointed Mr. Werpup, ſon-in-law to baron Bernſtorf, commiſſary of the troops, and comptroller of the province, with a ſalary of fifteen dollars a-day; and, in the mean time, the troops were quartered in the towns and the prince's domains. The towns complained loudly of this uſage, as not being parties in the quarrel, though the troops obſerved ſuch ſtrict diſcipline, as not in the leaſt to heighten the diſcontents of the people. A ſtrong garriſon was likewiſe put into Roſtock, though under the appellation of a voluntary admiſſion.

The duke goes to Vienna.

IN this extremity of affairs, the duke took a journey to Vienna, in order perſonally to lay his diſtreſs before the emperor; and, accordingly, he had ſeveral audiences of his imperial majeſty; and, both he and baron Eichholts, his miniſter at that court, had many conferences with the imperial miniſters; but they always inſiſted on his ſubmitting, without reſerve or exception, to the authority of the commiſſion. To this he made ſeveral objections; and even went ſo far as to deſire the commiſſioners might be examined with regard to their conduct, as many of their proceedings, he ſaid, were irregular; but his objections were diſregarded, and his requeſt refuſed, as productive of dangerous conſequences. Hereupon, he delivered the emperor a memorial of complaint,

complaint, even againſt the aulic council; and a foreign miniſter, perhaps at the duke's deſire, moved, that the Mecklenburg affair might be brought on the carpet at the congreſs of Brunſwick; but to this the preſident of the aulic council made anſwer, that it was an affair already unalterably decided. Thus the duke's journey proved of little advantage to him. All he could obtain, was the reſtitution of the town of Schwerin; a reſpite of the payment of the coſts attending the execution; and the recall of part of the troops employed in it. With theſe conceſſions he returned to Domitz in November, not a little chagrined at his not being able to obtain a total revocation of the commiſſion. Beſides theſe proceedings at Vienna, the duke took a ſtep, of which the ſtates made a handle for new complaints. The two chief courts of juſtice, which had hitherto been held at Guſtrow, were removed to Domitz; and the officers belonging to the regency, from Roſtock to Schwerin. The reaſon for the latter is eaſily conceived, and not much to be blamed. The removal of the courts of juſtice, beſides being a matter of more importance, was contrary to law; and ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to obſtruct the adminiſtration of juſtice. This formed the matter of a very weighty complaint againſt the duke.

The duke returns diſſatisfied with his journey.

THE miſunderſtanding which at this time ſubſiſted between the duke and his brother, and the means uſed to reconcile them, have been already taken notice of. This quarrel, added to that between him and his nobility, prejudiced the emperor againſt him to ſuch a degree, that he had the mortification to ſee baron Blanquart, his miniſter at the court of Vienna, diſowned; ſo that the imperial miniſters would receive no memorial from him, but after conſtantly referring him to the commiſſion at Roſtock, ordered him to depart. Yet this was nothing to what followed. The convening of diets in Mecklenburg is a prerogative of the ſovereign. Accordingly, the emperor, eſpecially ſince the iſſuing of the commiſſion, inſtead of uſing his authority for that purpoſe, had frequently required the duke to ſummon one himſelf; but the duke, ſince that period, as conſtantly refuſed; either judging it unneceſſary, or fearing it might terminate in ſome

The duke's miniſter ordered to depart from Vienna.

farther diminution of his authority, as the commiſſioners were to be preſent; or for ſome other reaſons we cannot pretend to aſſign. The imperial court looking on this refuſal of the duke's to convene a diet, as an act of contumacy, iſſued writs for the holding of a diet, leaving the duke at liberty to aſſiſt at it by proxy or not. Though this was done for the advantage of the ſtates, many of them, far from viewing it in that light, conſidered it as an infringement of the duke's legal prerogative, whom they ſtill acknowledged as ſovereign, and, of courſe, ſolely inveſted with the convocatory power. The duke ſent memorials on this occaſion to the court of Vienna, in Auguſt and Septemtember 1721, proteſting againſt theſe procedures; but the emperor's will took place, though the diet was delayed till 1723, ſeveral of the ſtates of the country, and even many of the nobility refuſing to attend.

Conſpiracy againſt the duke.

In the beginning of the year 1722, a conſpiracy was diſcovered at Domitz, where the duke and his family then reſided, for blowing them up along with the whole court. But the judgments paſſed on this affair are ſo various, that we can ſay very little of it with any certainty, except what relates to the trial and execution of thoſe concerned in it: nay, ſome have not ſcrupled to treat it as a mere contrivance of the duke's for the better juſtifying of his ſeverities towards his rebellious ſubjects, as he ſtyles them in his complaint. But, however myſterious the circumſtances of this affair may be, this is wounding the duke's character in a manner he by no means ſeems to have deſerved. It is hardly conceivable, that a prince of ſuch openneſs of mind ſhould clandeſtinely invent and conduct an affair, which could not but prove fatal to ſo many innocent perſons. And ſhould the guilt be laid on his council, it muſt appear equally difficult to account for their being able to carry it through, as they did, if there was no real foundation for them to build upon.

The current account of this affair is, that mines were made in five different places of the caſtle, and each charged with a ſufficient quantity of powder; nay, that the trains were ready laid for ſpringing theſe mines the very evening it was providentially diſcovered,

diſcovered, which was in this manner. A ſoldier coming into the caſtle with a ſealed letter, and happening to drop it near the guard-room, it was picked up and delivered to the ſerjeant. Soon after, the bearer miſſing it, haſtened back in great confuſion to look for it; and underſtanding in whoſe hands it was, he offered the ſerjeant four dollars to return it to him. This cauſing ſome ſuſpicion, the letter was immediately taken to the duke, who, with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and concern, found in it the indications of this black deſign. The whole guard was thereupon immediately relieved, and the ſuſpected confined. Of theſe nine and twenty confeſſed, that for every letter they brought into the caſtle, or carried out of it, they had a ducat. Orders were then immediately diſpatched for a thorough enquiry into this dark affair, and the moſt guilty were executed after a regular trial; the greateſt number of them without any reſpite. Amongſt theſe were two muſqueteers, who were beheaded and quartered. The principal conſpirators whoſe execution was delayed, were colonel Bugenhagen, late commandant of Domitz; Mr. Scharf, private ſecretary; Mr. Braſch, burgomaſter of Domitz; and Mr. Wolfrath, who once bore ſo great a ſway at court, and whoſe double engagements to the duke, as privy-counſellor and ſecretary, ſhould have prevented him, one would imagine, from having any hand in this atrocious affair. Of theſe colonel Bugenhagen alone withdrew in time, and ſaved his life. Scharf and Braſch were put to the torture, but confeſſed nothing. Yet, dying afterwards in priſon, the ſentence was executed on their remains. Their hearts were torn out, their bodies quartered, and their quarters expoſed upon poles. As to Wolfrath, conſidering the figure he made in Mecklenburg, it may not be improper to ſay a little more of him than of the other conſpirators.

His name was Herman Chriſtian Wolfrath. He had been miniſter of ſtate, and in great confidence with duke Frederick William, and duke Charles Leopold; and the latter, on his return from Vienna in 1721, made him his ſecretary. But ſoon after he was put under arreſt, being accuſed of illicit correſpondencies,

reſpondencies, but the particulars of his guilt have never tranſpired. His proſecution laſted till 1723. His ſentence was to be executed at Domitz, within doors, in a chamber; but he obtained as a favour to ſuffer in public. In a ſpeech which he made on the ſcaffold, he proteſted that he was innocent, and ſubmitted to the ſtroke with great reſolution.

The duke retires to Dantzick.

THE duke, in conſequence of this conſpiracy, left his dominions, and with his ducheſs and daughter removed to Dantzick, from whence the two laſt, as we have already mentioned, repaired to Peterſburg, never to return to him. The duke himſelf remained at Dantzick five years, ſending from time to time, edicts to the clergy, not to publiſh the orders of the commiſſioners; and inſtructions to his other ſubjects not to obey them. This inundation of oppoſite edicts, filled the country with confuſion, the people being at a loſs which they ſhould comply with. In the mean time he was ſerved with a mandate from the emperor, in conſequence of a decree of the aulic council, to deliver in, within two months, a faithful report of his proceedings againſt the ſuppoſed conſpirators; but he never paid any regard to it.

1722. ON the contrary, he, in December 1722, made another attempt to juſtify his complaints againſt his nobility, in a long memorial to the emperor; and, the emperor's anſwer not proving ſatisfactory, he publiſhed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the ſtates of the empire, entreating them to eſpouſe his cauſe; but all the conſolation he could obtain from them, was their ſerious advice to ſubmit to their common judge. This alſo the emperor himſelf required by a reſcript, enjoining him, in very ſtrong terms, to ſubmit himſelf to the imperial mandates, abſolutely, and without any reſerve or exception. But he could not be perſuaded he was in the wrong. He ſtill inſiſted that he was injured; and affected to take for granted, that theſe ordinances had been ſurreptitiouſly obtained, by falſe ſuggeſtions, and other ſiniſter practices, as he expreſſed himſelf in a declaration, or edict, publiſhed ſoon after. Thus it is not ſurpriſing, that he ſhould chuſe to ſuffer any hardſhip, rather than ſubmit. Accordingly, he cauſed Domitz to be better fortified, and provided with every

kind of neceſſary ſtores; increaſed the garriſon to two thouſand men, and ordered the governor to defend it to the laſt extremity. In October 1723, he publiſhed another edict, in which he expreſſed ſtill greater reſentment than he had hitherto ſhewn. The duke's manifeſto of 1722, is accuſed of boldneſs and acrimony; but, it muſt be obſerved in his juſtification, that he was as little ſpared in the writings of the nobility. Theſe invectives, though common in judicial pieces, ſeldom relate to the point in diſpute, and but little contribute to gain either party his cauſe.

Farther proceedings of the commiſſioners.

THE commiſſioners, in the mean time, proceeded according to their inſtructions. The nobility having laid before them an account of the ſums extorted from them by the Ruſſians and the duke, they procured them payment. They ordered their troops to repoſſeſs themſelves of Schwerin, removed the duke's poſtmaſter, ordered the produce of the poſt-office to be received at an inn, and put all the employments belonging to the office on a new footing. The exciſe was totally ſuppreſſed, its officers ſummoned to paſs their accounts, and the receivers of the duke's domains ordered to pay all the ſums they received at Roſtock. Thus was the duke almoſt completely ſtripped of all his revenues, nothing being left him but what the governor of Domitz could collect by threats or violence.

Diſpute between the duke and his brother renewed upon the death of their mother.

THE deceaſe of the duke's mother, which happened in the mean time, at Grabow, on the ſixteenth of May 1722, revived the conteſts between duke Charles Leopold and duke Chriſtian Lewis III, her two ſons. The commandant of Domitz had cauſed poſſeſſion of her effects to be taken by a detachment of his garriſon, in the name of the former; but the latter, apprehenſive of foul play, applied to the commiſſion, which thereupon ſent ſome of the troops of the circle to Grabow, who forced the party from Domitz to retire, and took poſſeſſion of the caſtle. The emperor, being properly informed of theſe tranſactions, iſſued his mandate to the commiſſioners, to procure duke Chriſtian Lewis the appanage due to him, together with his mother's effects:

effects: and thus, to the great detriment of duke Charles Leopold, his brother became connected with the commiſſioners.

Diet of Sternberg in 1723.

AT length, on the twenty-ſixth of October 1723, the diet appointed by the emperor was held at Sternberg; the deputies of the commiſſion had previouſly ſent a body of troops to that town for the ſecurity of the members, and they themſelves opened it. But thoſe who eſpouſed the duke's convocatory right, amongſt whom were not a few of the nobility, did not appear at that diet; and of thoſe who did, the majority withdrew before any reſolution could be formed. In this aſſembly, the deputies of the commiſſioners propoſed three things; firſt, that the annual contribution of one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars for the defence of the country, which in ſome years had not been levied, ſhould be paid. 2dly, That ſome courts, to which the princeſſes of Mecklenburg had been married, ſhould be ſatisfied with regard to the remainder of the princeſſes' portions, amounting to twenty-thouſand dollars. 3dly, That certain accounts ſhould be examined and ſettled. But, in conſequence of the abſence of ſo many members, and the withdrawing of ſeveral others before any reſolution could be taken, theſe things came to nothing, and the diet abruptly broke up, without one effectual ſtep to bring the points in debate to a concluſion. Many of the ſtates might have had in view the total abolition of the uſual diets; but another diet being convoked at Malchin in 1724, by the emperor's authority, the imperial court ſignified to the committee of deputies at Roſtock, its diſpleaſure at any ſuch views; and, at the ſame time, ſent them an order, on pain of being fined, to repair to the new diet. It accordingly proved more numerous than that of Sternberg, one hundred and fifty of the nobility, and fifty deputies of the towns aſſiſting at it. The emperor's reſolutions of the nineteenth of October 1724, being notified, the nobility's complaints, which conſiſted of twenty-three articles, were redreſſed. This diet, however, left the chief article undecided, the imperial court conceiving it to have been adjuſted ſo long ago, as in the years 1710 and 1712. But the duke

Diet of Malchin in 1724.

paid

paid no manner of regard to theſe mandates, being perſuaded that the intereſt of the nobility was the only thing conſulted in them.

In the mean time, Catharine, the wife of Peter the Great, having, on his demiſe, ſucceeded to the throne, aſſured the duke, that ſhe would to the utmoſt make good the engagements of her late huſband with him; upon this, he immediately ſet about augmenting his troops, and increaſed them to four thouſand men; though, for reaſons of ſtate, the empreſs did not ſupply him with troops, ſhe privately furniſhed him with money to pay his ſoldiers. This empreſs was no great friend to the king of Great Britain; and as this monarch, as elector of Hanover, was at the head of the emperor's commiſſion, it might have been one of the reaſons for her enabling duke Charles Leopold to augment his forces; as her encouragement, on this occaſion, was certainly a ſtrong reaſon with him for not ſubmitting to the decrees of the aulic council.

Catharine empreſs of Ruſſia, promiſes to ſupport the duke.

Yet the duke did not forbear his endeavours to bring about an accommodation. He laid ſome propoſals before the court of Vienna, through his brother, requeſting its mediation. Theſe propoſals were, that all which had paſſed ſhould be forgotten; that a meeting ſhould be held for adjuſting the claims of the nobility; that the city of Roſtock ſhould retain its ancient privileges; that nothing ſhould be required of the duke on account of the extortions of the Ruſſians, ſuch things being uſual in other places, and the domains of the duke himſelf having ſuffered greatly by them; that all ſuſpected perſons, on clearing themſelves, ſhould be received into the duke's favour; and, laſtly, that the nobility ſhould declare their ſentiments concerning theſe matters*. But theſe propoſals were rejected, and nothing would ſatisfy the imperial court, but the duke's abſolute and unlimited ſubmiſſion.

The duke makes new propoſals foran accommodation.

* Kluver, Potker, Struvens, Hubner, Buckholtz, Collect. Mecklenb.

CHAP. VI.

Containing the ADMINISTRATION of CHRISTIAN LEWIS II. to the DEATH of his Brother Duke CHARLES LEOPOLD.

Chriſtian Lewis II. appointed adminiſtrator of Mecklenburg. Affairs of Ruſſia favourable to duke Charles Leopold. He oppoſes his brother's adminiſtration. The peaſants riſe up in his favour, but are ſubdued. The Hanoverians withdraw from Mecklenburg. The adminiſtrator takes the troops of Schwartzburg and Holſtein into pay. Schwerin is taken, and the duke eſcapes to Wiſmar. The adminiſtrator reſides at Schwerin. Events in favour of duke Charles Leopold. The princeſs of Mecklenburg married to duke Antony Ulric of Brunſwick. Her ſon John raiſed to the throne. The duke removes from Wiſmar to Domitz. Revolution in favour of the late empreſs Elizabeth. Tragical fate of the emperor John. Death and character of duke Charles Leopold.

Duke Charles Leopold diveſted, and duke Chriſtian Lewis appointed adminiſtrator.

THE conteſt between duke Charles Leopold and the aulic council, was now come to a criſis; this high court was reſolved to aſſert its juriſdiction, and, in conſequence thereof, iſſued a decree, dated the eleventh of May 1728, depriving the duke of the regency, and conferring it on his brother Chriſtian Lewis II. This prince was to enter upon the ſame footing as the elector of Hanover and the duke of Wolfenbuttle; to convene a diet for ſettling the contributions, and removing all grievances; to reſtore the courts of juſtice; to engage to conduct the commiſſion according to the laws and cuſtoms of the country, and the emperor's orders. On the other hand, as adminiſtrator, he was, beſides his appanage, to be allowed twenty-five thouſand dollars per annum, and duke Charles Leopold forty thouſand, with a guard of one hundred men for his ſafety;

and, laſtly, the charges of the commiſſion, which were eſtimated at one million of dollars, were to be paid within the ſpace of ten years.

This manner of proceeding with duke Charles Leopold, was owing to the death of the empreſs Catharine, in 1727, when Peter II. grandſon of Peter the Great, aſcended the throne; under whom the miſunderſtanding between England and Ruſſia ceaſed, and the Ruſſian miniſtry adopted other maxims.

To effect this new ſettlement, the *commiſſoriale* and *conſervatorium* to the elector of Hanover and duke of Wolfenbuttle, were not only renewed, but the king of Pruſſia, as duke of Magdeburg, was included in theſe inſtruments. Theſe ordinances were ſignified to the courts of the commiſſioners, and to duke Chriſtian Lewis III. and confirmed on the ſeventeenth of January 1729, though not without great noiſe and oppoſition. Duke Charles Leopold publiſhed a proteſt on the ſeventeenth of December 1728, againſt theſe proceedings to his prejudice; it was couched in very ſtrong terms, but was, notwithſtanding, diſmiſſed by the aulic council. Duke Chriſtian Lewis, indeed, acquainted the emperor by letter, in 1728 or 1729, that he was very willing to take on him the exerciſe of the ſovereignty, but required that the troops of the circle might be withdrawn; for his only motives for his accepting of the commiſſion and adminiſtration unqueſtionably were, that no foreign prince might be inveſted with them, and that he might contribute to promote the reſtoration of the public tranquility.

The courts of Hanover and Wolfenbuttle themſelves ſtrongly oppoſed this ſettlement, inſiſting, that to deprive a prince of the empire of his ſovereignty, without the privity of his co-eſtates, was contrary to the laws of the empire; and that they would not recall their troops, till they were reimburſed all the expences they had been at on the occaſion. They alſo applied to the king of Pruſſia not to forward the adminiſtration, as it was called; nay, the miniſters of France, Sweden, and Denmark, made remonſtrances againſt this proceeding.

This ſettlement oppoſed by the courts of Hanover and Wolfenbuttle.

Farther proceedings of the imperial court.

But the emperor adhered to his reſolution. Yet, in ſome meaſure, to ſatisfy the ſtates of the empire, as the commiſſioners deſired, he acquainted the diet with the affair, and ſent reſcripts to the commiſſioners, and to duke Chriſtian Lewis, to whom it was particularly recommended to hold an extraordinary diet at Roſtock, and there come to a reconciliation with the nobility. Accordingly, this prince, attended by the principal nobility, repaired to Malchow, and ſigned certain articles laid before him: viz. that no detriment ſhould reſult to duke Charles Leopold by his adminiſtration; that he ſhould do nothing contrary to the ancient form of government; that, for the ſecurity of his adminiſtration, a ſufficient number of men ſhould be raiſed, and formed into regiments, in caſe the inhabitants of Schwerin and Domitz refuſed to ſubmit; that the public contributions ſhould not be raiſed in a forcible manner; and, laſtly, that the officers ſhould be obliged to make their payments in ready money. The diet then went on ſmoothly, though duke Charles Leopold proteſted againſt it. However, this meeting cannot be ſaid to have brought any thing to a final concluſion.

Affairs of Ruſſia favourable to duke Charles Leopold.

1730.

As it was in conſequence of a change of ſovereigns in Ruſſia, that duke Charles Leopold had been diveſted of the regency of his own dominions, ſo by the help of another change in that empire, in 1730, he thought he ſhould be able to reinſtate himſelf. The young czar, Peter II. reigned but a very ſhort time, for he died of the ſmall-pox in January 1730, before his marriage was conſummated with the princeſs Catharine Dolgorucki. The regular ſucceſſion to the crown of Ruſſia was then at a ſtand. According to the will of the empreſs Catharine, her eldeſt daughter, Anna Petrowna, ducheſs of Holſtein, ought to have been called to the throne; but ſhe died the year after her mother, and left behind her a ſon, who was then about ten years old. The apprehenſion of ſo long a minority, as muſt have enſued upon the acceſſion of this prince, determined the ſenate and nobility to ſet aſide Catharine's will, under pretence of its being vacated by a declaration of the late emperor; who, ſaid they, had appointed upon his death-bed another ſucceſſor. Their next conſideration

ſideration was, who that perſon ſhould be; and, after ſome debates, they caſt their eyes on the poſterity of the czar John, Peter the Great's elder brother. But here again they had not the ſmalleſt regard to hereditary right, provided they were governed by any one of the imperial blood. The emperor John left two daughters, Cathatine, the eldeſt, married to Charles Leopold duke of Mecklenburg; and Anne, the youngeſt, married to the duke of Courland, who was ſince deceaſed. It is evident, that if the ſucceſſion was to devolve firſt on the daughters of the elder brother, the imperial crown ſhould have come to his elder daughter, Catharine ducheſs of Mecklenburg; yet they all agreed in ſetting her aſide, and raiſing to the throne her youngeſt ſiſter, the ducheſs of Courland. To colour this injuſtice done to the ducheſs of Mecklenburg, they gave out, that as her huſband was engaged in a kind of civil war with his nobility, the emperor, Peter II. willing to ſecure the peace and tranquility of his ſubjects, had paſſed her by, and called her youngeſt ſiſter to the ſucceſſion. The true reaſon was, that they were apprehenſive leſt complaiſance for her huſband might engage them in a war in Germany, as the duke, in all probability, would endeavour by her aſſiſtance to recover his dominions; nor were thoſe who had enjoyed the chief ſhare in the adminiſtration during the laſt reign, inclined to become in fact, though not in name, the ſubjects of a prince, who had ſhewn ſuch ſteadineſs and inflexibility in ſupporting his rights and prerogatives. The ducheſs of Mecklenburg was therefore obliged quietly to ſubmit to ſee her younger ſiſter mount the throne of Ruſſia. This proceeding, however, cauſed no interruption in the good harmony which had hitherto ſubſiſted between the two ſiſters. The new empreſs behaved with great affection to the ducheſs of Mecklenburg, till the time of her death, which happened at Peterſburg in 1733, but not till ſhe had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing her daughter, the princeſs of Mecklenburg, in high favour with her aunt the empreſs; and, as the latter had no children, in a fair way of one day filling the imperial throne of Ruſſia. The young princeſs had conformed to the Greek religion in 1733, on which occaſion

the

the empreſs declared the princeſs heireſs to the Ruſſian empire. But we return now to Mecklenburg*.

The princeſs of Mecklenburg declared heireſs to the Ruſſian empire.

1730. Duke CharlesLeopold returns to Mecklenburg.

UPON the acceſſion of the empreſs Anne, duke Charles Leopold thought he might depend on the aſſiſtance of that princeſs, as ſiſter to his conſort; which however never went farther than pecuniary ſupplies. Animated with this expectation, he returned to Mecklenburg, and immediately putting himſelf at the head of the troops in garriſon at Domitz, he drove the Hanoverians from ſome of their poſts, and marched to Schwerin, which they had evacuated. But ſoon after his little army met with a check, and was ſhut up in Schwerin. He now again made another application to the diet of the empire for aſſiſtance; but with as little ſucceſs as uſual; and on the ſixth of March, 1731, received the emperor's laſt reſcript, which was tranſmitted to him by the commiſſioners. But he ſtill perſiſted to object againſt every thing from that quarter, though the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia adviſed him to acquieſce. At length, the emperor, and the courts of Hanover and Wolfenbuttle became reconciled; and, their commiſſion being ſuperſeded by an act of the aulic council, of the thirtieth of October, 1732, duke Chriſtian Lewis was formally inveſted with the ſovereignty.

1731.

1732.

Duke Charles Leopold oppoſes his brother's adminiſtration.

THE formal inveſtiture of duke Chriſtian Lewis III. with the exerciſe of the ſovereignty was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by duke Charles Leopold. On the fifteenth of December, 1732, he iſſued a mandate, injoining the ſubjects of his duchy to continue in their loyalty to their ancient ſovereign. On the twenty-eighth of February, 1733, he, likewiſe, laid a very moving ſtate of his affairs before the diet. But how well ſoever a great part of his ſubjects might ſtill continue affected to him, it was a conſideration which had no effect at Vienna; and the ſtates of the empire refuſed to concern themſelves in his affairs. At length, to crown his misfortunes by ſtopping his mouth at once, his printer was forbid to print or publiſh any of his mandates or orders, by a decree of the aulic council, of the twenty-fifth of March, 1733.

1733.

* Franck, Buckholtz, Kluver, Hiſtory of Ruſſia.

On

The resolutions of the aulic council are made public.

On the twenty-eighth of April, the resolutions of the aulic council were made public. The substance of them was, that by the emperor's orders all the subjects in Mecklenburg were referred to the duke administrator; and they were no longer to pay any obedience to duke Charles Leopold. Orders to the same purpose were likewise sent to the commandants of Domitz, and Schwerin; and a rescript to the duke himself, requiring him to submit, and not molest his brother. Instructions were likewise given to duke Christian Lewis III. for his conduct in the administration; and a notification of the convening of a diet to duke Adolphus Frederick, of Strelitz, with an order to appear at that assembly.

Duke Christian Lewis signs the instrument of administration.

In the mean time, duke Christian Lewis signed the *Reversalia*, by which he had obliged himself to conduct the regency according to the ancient custom; upon which the emperor's proclamations were stuck up all over the country. But duke Charles Leopold caused orders to be stuck up quite contrary to those of the emperor; and abruptly dismissed the deputies, who came to him with that prince's mandate. Nay, on the approach of the troops of the commission to Schwerin, he made preparations, both there and at Domitz, for a resolute defence, giving orders to major general Tilly, governor of Schwerin, and to colonel Erich, governor of Domitz, to defend themselves to the last extremity. In his edicts, especially of the twenty-ninth of June, 1733, he spared the aulic council as little as the courts of Hanover and Wolfenbuttle; and least of all his brother, duke Christian Lewis.

Duke Charles Leopold prepares for vigorous measures.

One cannot forbear wondering, that the more duke Charles Leopold was pressed, and the less hope he could entertain of assistance, the more inflexible he always shewed himself. Yet, in the sequel, we shall see him go still greater lengths. This inflexibility seems to speak a strong persuasion in this prince, that he was ill used; it being certain, that no body, who knowingly defends an unjust cause, or seeks to carry it into execution, persists any longer, than he sees a possibility of compassing his ends, which was now no longer the case with duke Charles Leopold.

Leopold. But a firm ſenſe of the juſtice of one's cauſe is ſufficient to make ſome minds encounter impoſſibilities. This is a truth very clearly demonſtrated by the conduct of both duke Charles Leopold, and Charles XII. of Sweden.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis executes the imperial commiſſion.

DUKE Chriſtian Lewis had now, according to the imperial mandate, taken upon himſelf the execution of the imperial commiſſion; and the deputies of the nobility waited upon him at Neuſtadt with their congratulations. On the twenty-fourth of September, 1733, he convened a diet at Sternberg, to ſettle every thing relating to the ſecurity and welfare of the country. But duke Charles Leopold retarded it by a ſevere proclamation againſt his brother, and another, exciting the peaſantry of the principality of Wenden to riſe in his favour. And though the duke adminiſtrator endeavoured, by a counter-proclamation, to prevent any commotions, duke Charles's proclamation had ſuch an effect, that the peaſants aſſembled from all parts, drove the troops of the commiſſion, which were before Schwerin, into a wood, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places, not without committing great outrages on the eſtates of the nobility.

The peaſants riſe up in arms in favour of Charles Leopold.

THIS, no doubt, was a deſperate undertaking in duke Charles Leopold, as it never could have any good iſſue; yet it ſeems to be a farther proof of the unſurmountable perſuaſion he laboured under of the juſtice of his cauſe; and, what is ſtill more in his favour, the peaſantry's ready compliance with his proclamation, is a demonſtration of the commonalty's attachment to him. Indeed, we muſt do him the juſtice to obſerve, that not only the peaſants, who are generally ſo irrational as to hate their lords, even the very beſt of them; but likewiſe moſt of the citizens in the towns, whom we may ſuppoſe poſſeſſed of a larger ſhare of underſtanding, in their hearts at leaſt, eſpouſed his intereſt.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis obliged to retire to Pomerania.

THE troops of the commiſſion being ſent againſt the peaſants, with a reinforcement of ſome hundreds of men, it was concluded, that theſe diſturbances would ſoon be quelled. But by the end of September, the peaſants were increaſed to eighteen thouſand men, with many diſbanded ſoldiers amongſt them, which occaſioned ſuch confuſion, that duke Chriſtian Lewis, and the

greater

greater part of the nobility found it neceſſary to leave the country, the former taking refuge at Bart in Pomerania.

Duke Charles Leopold miſcarries in his attempt upon Neuſtadt.

Duke Charles Leopold had his eye chiefly on Neuſtadt, his brother's reſidence; and, with this view, ſent a body of two hundred peaſants, two hundred ſoldiers, and twenty hunters, to ſurprize it, and get his brother's wife and children into his poſſeſſion; in which caſe they were to demoliſh the caſtle. But an Hanoverian lieutenant, having intercepted an officer belonging to duke Charles Leopold, and got notice of the ſcheme from the letters he had about him, immediately ſent advice of it to the commandant at Neuſtadt, who thereupon kept himſelf in conſtant readineſs to receive the aſſailants; and, when they arrived, received them with ſo much bravery, that they were obliged to retire, with the loſs of fifty peaſants killed; fourteen wounded, and twenty taken priſoners; with five rank and file killed; and two officers, thirteen rank and file, and two hunters wounded.

Action near Schwerin.

About the ſame time an action happened near Schwerin, where the duke had alſo the diſadvantage. It was not, however, through the bravery of the Hanoverians alone that duke Charles Leopold's party met with this repulſe. His officers have been accuſed of wanting both courage and conduct upon this occaſion. In particular, an officer, who pretended to be one of the duke's engineers, behaved very ill in his command over a body of peaſants which he was to lead againſt Neuſtadt. In the firſt place he came too late, the Hanoverians having already engaged the Domitz ſoldiers; and whereas it behoved him to take advantage of that diverſion, he gave but one fire, and then retreated. Notwithſtanding this, the poor peaſants whom he had thus abandoned, ſtill made a ſtand, till finding themſelves thin a-pace, they threw down their wallets, pitch-forks, and ſcythes, and betook themſelves to flight. Their leader, who was a tall, well-made man, made the beſt of his way into the marquiſate of Brandenburg; but from being a commander was obliged to ſubmit to the condition of a common trooper. However, he did not live long after, but died miſerably in the hoſpital, by drinking

The peaſants are defeated

brandy to excefs. Duke Charles Leopold had many fuch votaries of Bacchus in his fervice; and this alone would be fufficient to account for the ill fuccefs of this inſurrection of the Mecklenburg peaſants in duke Charles Leopold's favour. And yet being very numerous, and having ſome diſbanded ſoldiers amongſt them, as we have above mentioned, they were not altogether deſtitute of weapons. They had long pitch-forks, and their ſcythes fixed vertically, with which, had they come to a cloſe engagement, it would have been no faint repreſentation of the old *Bella Saturnalia*; but the misfortune of it was, the powder and ball of the Hanoverians reached farther than thoſe implements of huſbandry.

The peaſants after committing ſome violences at Guſtrow diſperſe.

THE main body of the peaſants, however, forced their way into the city of Guſtrow, where ſome perſons, who were known not to favour the duke, ſeverely felt their reſentment; but they evacuated the place the moment they heard of the Hanoverians having marched out of Roſtock to attack them. Some ſmart ſkirmiſhes, however, enſued, in which the peaſants being worſted, they ſeparated, and betook themſelves to their reſpective homes.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis returns, and grants a general pardon.

HEREUPON duke Chriſtian Lewis returned from Pomerania; and the firſt thing he did on his arrival, was to publiſh a general pardon for the inſurgents or revolters, with an exception, however, of their leaders. General Tilly and adjutant-general Reuſner had, in the mean time, marched with a party of peaſants into the country of Parchim, with a view of keeping alive the ſeeds of diſturbance in that quarter. But they were ſurpriſed by the Hanoverians; and, with all their followers, obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. All the puniſhment inflicted on the peaſants was a ſevere drubbing, after which they were diſmiſſed. But the two officers, with ſome others of the moſt active among the peaſants, were brought priſoners to Ratzeburg, and there confined. A court of enquiry then, immediately, ſat upon them. General Tilly made ſeveral objections as to the competency of this tribunal with regard to himſelf, and inſiſted on being looked upon as a priſoner of war. But this plea was over-ruled; though

though ſoon after no difficulty was made of treating the duke's military ſervants in that light. Tilly then endeavoured to juſtify himſelf by the poſt which he held under the duke; and Reuſner, as acting under Tilly. Their trial proved very tedious. At length, in 1736, the aulic council condemned them to perpetual impriſonment. Tilly's ſentence, indeed, was afterwards mitigated to two years; but he did not live to ſee the expiration of that term; he dying in priſon. The moſt active of the peaſants were ſent to different places of the duchy of Lunenburg, to work at the fortifications; and all of them died in this condition, except a few, who, it is ſaid, were privately ſet at liberty.

Character of general Tilly.

GENERAL Tilly was, by birth, a nobleman of Livonia, and did not want courage or military knowledge, being, indiſputably, the beſt officer in the duke's ſervice. His generalſhip, it muſt be owned, does not much appear in the peaſant's war, as we may call it; though, with ſuch an army, a Philopœmen himſelf could have cut no great figure. But whether he had any thing of the ſtateſman in him, is a queſtion; though, if the character of duke Charles Leopold be found in that of Charles XII. of Sweden, Tilly, in politics, ſeems to bear a perfect reſemblance to count Piper, never affecting to direct his maſter's ſchemes, but eager to execute them. Beſides, Tilly had much the ſame fate with the Swediſh miniſter.

The greateſt part of the Hanoverians withdraw from Mecklenburg.

THESE commotions being quelled, moſt of the Hanoverian troops left the country of Mecklenburg, only four thouſand, remaining with thoſe of Wolfenbuttle, in order to reduce Schwerin and Domitz. To prevent theſe ſieges, duke Charles Leopold declared, that he would deſiſt from all military operations. Indeed his efforts that way, were now little to be dreaded: for his ducheſs dying this year, in Ruſſia, it might be very reaſonably concluded, that the court of Peterſburg would be no longer ſo liberal in her ſupplies to him; and it was evident, that he had received no ſupplies from that quarter, ſince the ſequeſtration of his revenue. The duke laid the death of his conſort ſo much to heart, that for ſome days he did not ſtir out of his chamber. However, on receiving advice, that the empreſs of Ruſ-

1733.

ſia, his wife's ſiſter, had adopted his daughter, and declared her heireſs to the crown of Ruſſia, he ſurmounted his grief; eſpecially as at the ſame time he received aſſurances, that the ſupplies would be continued to him, though, for reaſons of ſtate, the court of Peterſburg forbore giving him more effectual aſſiſtance.

The Pruſſians, under the command of count Schwerin, march into Mecklenburg.

BUT what prevented the ſieges of Schwerin and Domitz, was the ſudden and unexpected appearance of the Pruſſian forces in Mecklenburg, in conſequence of the king of Pruſſia's having taken a reſolution, not to ſuffer the Hanoverian troops to take poſſeſſion of Schwerin or Domitz, as had been threatened. The Pruſſian troops appointed for this expedition were Krocker's regiment of foot, the prince of Pruſſia's regiment of horſe, headed by general Wreck, and the life-carabineers, under major general count Truckſes, of Waldburg, the whole commanded by lieutenant-general Schwerin, who, with the duke's permiſſion, had engaged in the Pruſſian ſervice. Of all men general Schwerin was the fitteſt for the truſt now repoſed in him, as he was not only as good a ſtateſman as a general, but thoroughly acquainted with the Mecklenburg affairs. Accordingly, in the month of October, he marched into Mecklenburg, and took poſſeſſion of the neighbourhood of Parchim.

The courts of Vienna and Hanover alarmed at this ſtep.

THE march, or as we may well ſtyle it, the irruption of the Pruſſians into Mecklenburg, was like a thunderbolt to the courts of Vienna and Hanover; and it proved ſo to the latter in particular, as the Hanoverian troops, who ſtill continued in the country, were thereby obliged to leave it, except a few hundred. The emperor, by his envoy at Berlin, expoſtulated with that court on this ſtep, as being taken without his privity. But the king declared, that he would recall his troops, whenever the courts of Hanover and Wolfenbuttle ſhould withdraw theirs, with this proviſo, however, that the Pruſſians ſhould be paid from the time they began their march till their return, and that he ſhould likewiſe be reimburſed his incidental charges.

Remarks on the king of Pruſſia's conduct.

THAT the ſecurity of Schwerin and Domitz, and the removal of the Hanoverians out of Mecklenburg, were the chief ends of

this march of the Pruſſians, appears clearly, both from the Pruſſian manifeſto of the ſeventeenth of October, 1733, and from the natural intereſt of Pruſſia, which muſt certainly have ſuffered by leaving both Domitz and Ratzeburg in the hands of the Lunenburgers. Beſides, it was ſuſpected by ſome, that the elector of Hanover would retain ſome tract or other of the country of Mecklenburg for himſelf; a proceeding which it was not natural the king of Pruſſia, as eventual heir of the houſe of Mecklenburg, could reliſh; not to mention the inconveniencies which might reſult to the navigation of the ſubjects of the marquiſate on the Elbe, ſhould all the tolls beyond Leuzen be held by Lunenburg. After all, it is thought that duke Charles Leopold himſelf was at the bottom of this affair, and brought about the march of the Pruſſians, as it greatly concerned him to retain theſe two places; and he was then on very good terms with Pruſſia.

A BLOODY ſcene was now dreaded. The Pruſſians mixed every where amongſt the Hanoverians, in a manner little favourable to the ſuppoſed deſire of the latter to poſſeſs themſelves of any particular tract of the country; and extended themſelves as wide as poſſible, ſo that the commiſſion's troops were obliged to keep at a diſtance from each other, and from Domitz and Schwerin. Though they could not agree, they never came to blows; neither ſide having orders to commence hoſtilities, however willing they might be to obtain advantages over each other. What they did this way, was effected by ſtratagem and fineſſe, without any ſhew of inſult or violence. We have a curious inſtance of this guarded behaviour, in the method taken by the Pruſſians to get into Parchim, and elbow the Hanoverians out of that town. The former, having applied for leave to march Krocker's regiment through that place, the latter not only complied with the requiſition, but appointed part of the town for their quarters. But when this corps once got in, they would proceed no farther; and two companies of Hanoverians, whom they found there in garriſon, having no orders to drive them out, and being moreover too weak for that purpoſe, were forced to

leave

leave the place themſelves. Beſides Parchim, the Pruſſians neſtled themſelves in Goldberg, Plave, Roball, Lubitz, Krackaw, Grabow, and other places in the weſtern parts of the principality of Wenden, ſo that Schwerin and Domitz were ſufficiently ſecured. But all this was done under the name of the *commiſſion* and *conſervation*, in which Pruſſia was included, as general Schwerin's proclamation expreſly ſignified.

Diet of Roſtock.

In the mean time, on the fourth of November of this year, the duke adminiſtrator held a diet at Roſtock, to which duke Adolph Frederic III. of Strelitz, was invited. This was the diet, which had been originally ſummoned to meet at Sternberg; but had firſt been hindered by the peaſants war, and then by the irruption of the Pruſſians, on which account too, it was removed to Roſtock, as a place of greater ſecurity, being garriſoned by Hanoverians. It is to be preſumed, however, that the Pruſſians would have offered as little moleſtation at Sternberg, as at Roſtock; but the miſtruſt of them was too great, it ſeems, to be conquered by any conſideration; and the nobility were particularly afraid of general Schwerin, the Pruſſian commander, as he had been formerly in the ſervice of duke Charles Leopold, and they had taken many and great liberties with him in their writings. They were therefore apprehenſive he might remember theſe circumſtances not much to their advantage. But this great man was both too equitable and too generous to intermix his own private concerns with his maſter's orders; or to moleſt any one farther than his orders required.

The duke of Strelitz reſtored to his right of convoking diets.

In this diet, the line of Strelitz was reſtored to its common right of convoking diets, which had been ſo long conteſted. This was owing to an imperial mandate of the twenty-third of March, 1733, concerning the grievances of the country. The variances, however, between the two courts were not entirely quieted by this act. The chief points which ſtill remained in diſpute, related to the provincial cheſt, the courts of juſtice, and the conſiſtory; concerning which we muſt farther ſubjoin, that both duke Adolph Frederick III. and duke Chriſtian

Lewis, as reigning dukes of Schwerin, in 1748, endeavoured finally to adjuſt them, by concluding with each other the *conciliatory convention*; with which, however, the nobility were not thoroughly pleaſed. But to return to the diet we left ſitting at Roſtock.

THE other points diſcuſſed in this meeting, were the diſcharge of the arrears of the commiſſion-money; the taking of neutral troops into the ſervice, and putting the adminiſtration of juſtice on a better footing. General Schwerin aſſiſted at this aſſembly, as plenipotentiary from the king of Pruſſia, that he might hear the propoſals of the ſtates, and move for the maintenance of the Pruſſian troops; which he declared, however, ſhould quit the country, as ſoon as the ſtates could prevail on the court of Hanover to withdraw hers. But, then, he added, that if, in the mean time, no proviſion was made for the maintenance of his forces, he muſt himſelf provide for them on the farms and eſtates of the nobility. As all the anſwer he could obtain from the nobility was, that without a particular mandate from the emperor they could not take any ſuch thing in hand, he left the aſſembly; and levied his *rations* and his *portions* on the manors and eſtates of the nobleſſe; upon which the diet broke up, without coming to any concluſion with regard to thoſe articles for which it had been convoked; and the whole blame was laid on general Schwerin.

Duke Charles Leopold writes a ſubmiſſive but ineffectual letter to the emperor.

IN the mean time, duke Charles Leopold, on the twenty-ninth of September, wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the emperor, and it was ſeconded by the interceſſion of the king of Pruſſia. But, as it had been ſignified to the imperial court from another quarter, that a diſcovery of an alliance between the duke and the French king, had been made by means of general Tilly's papers; the emperor being then at war with France, took ſuch umbrage at this intelligence, as not to vouchſafe the duke an anſwer. On the contrary, count Seckendorff, the imperial miniſter at Berlin, repreſented to the king of Pruſſia, that the duke's profeſſions could not be admitted as ſincere, while he refuſed an unreſerved obedience to the imperial mandates.

dates. And thus the duke loſt all hopes of being reconciled to the emperor.

It muſt be owned that ſuch an alliance as that we have mentioned between France and duke Charles Leopold, was at this time, much talked of. If the duke's unhappy ſituation, the reſentment he muſt have naturally conceived againſt the courts of Vienna and Hanover, and ſome other circumſtances, render ſuch a tranſaction not improbable; yet the conſideration, that he could ſee little or no advantage in this alliance, and that he muſt be convinced it would be a direct affront to the empreſs of Ruſſia, his chief ſupport, forbids us to believe it. After all, allowing that duke Charles Leopold had entered into any negotiations with the court of France, it is highly improbable that any particular account of theſe negotiations ſhould be found in Tilly's letters, though ſome expreſſions might here and there occur capable of receiving that conſtruction. It can ſcarce be imagined, that Tilly would be ſo mad as to carry letters of ſuch conſequence with him in an expedition, in which he ran a manifeſt riſk of being taken, when they would have been much ſafer at Schwerin. His whole war-office conſiſted in a pocket eſcritoire, and letters which he carried about him: and allowing that he might have had ſome particular letters, it cannot be believed that they were of any great importance, as in that caſe his ſentence would ſcarce have been mitigated. Farther, at the taking of Schwerin, no ſuch papers were found, as there certainly would, had any exiſted; the duke having been obliged to retire too precipitately to take even a horſe with him. After all, we ſhall not pretend to pronounce abſolutely on this occaſion. However, we cannot help taking notice, that about this time moſt princes of the empire, even the king of Pruſſia himſelf, was ſuſpected of clandeſtine connections with France; and, therefore, it is no way ſtrange, that ſuch a charge ſhould be brought againſt duke Charles Leopold, who could not certainly be ſuppoſed to have more affection for the houſe of Auſtria, than the other members of the Germanic body. But whether duke Charles Leopold entered into an alliance with France, or not,

not, he did another thing, which could not but contribute to prejudice the emperor againſt him. This was iſſuing a proclamation on the twenty-third of October, to juſtify his ordinance to the peaſants, in anſwer to what his brother had ſaid of it in the general pardon.

The adminiſtrator and the ſtates agree to take the Holſtein and Schwartzburg troops into pay.

THOUGH the duke adminiſtrator, and the ſtates could not agree with the court of Berlin, yet they conſented to take into their ſervice neutral troops, as that court deſired, and on that account had marched its forces into Mecklenburg. The adminiſtrator and the ſtates would have borrowed troops from Hamburg; but they and that city not agreeing, they negotiated for troops with Holſtein-Gottorp, and Schwartzburg; the former of which was to furniſh eight hundred men, and the latter twelve hundred; but this agreement did not take place without great oppoſition from duke Charles Leopold. In March, 1734, 1734. four hundred of the Holſteiners marched into the territories of Mecklenburg, and were ſoon followed by the other four hundred. But it was not till the year 1735, that the twelve hundred Schwartzburgers made their appearance, on account of the want of money in the execution cheſt. On the arrival of the Holſteiners, the troops of Hanover and Wolfenbuttle immediately evacuated the country, except four hundred men, who were left at Bortzenburg and its neighbourhood, for the ſecurity of the toll at that place. The Pruſſians, likewiſe, returned home in July, leaving but two hundred horſe behind them.

THE Hanoverians continued long after in Mecklenburg; and, beſides Bortzenburg, kept poſſeſſion of Gadebuſch and other adjacent places, not only for the ſecurity of the toll at Bortzenberg, which ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the court of Hanover, but for that of the lands mortgaged to that court. This mortgage * was made in conſideration of a claim of one million of dollars, which the execution of the commiſſion coſt the court of

* The author apprehends this mortgage to be now paid off; at leaſt he was told by count Baſſewitz, in 1770, when he was laſt at Schwerin, that the money was ready for that purpoſe.

Hanover. And, though the Pruſſian troops were recalled, they were ſoon replaced by ſome ſquadrons of huſſars, who kept poſſeſſion of the lands which were likewiſe mortgaged to the court of Berlin, to anſwer its claims. Theſe huſſars were quartered at Parchim, Plave, and Lubitz.

Duke Charles Leopold prepares to ſtand a ſiege at Schwerin.

In the mean time, duke Charles Leopold, who now expected nothing but a ſiege, cauſed his garriſon and guards to be diligently exerciſed; and made all the other diſpoſitions for as vigorous a defence as circumſtances would admit. His garriſon conſiſted of two hundred and eighty men; and his guards of no more than eighty foot, and thirty-ſix horſe; each provided with twenty-four rounds. This force, and that at Domitz, which was ſaid to amount to two thouſand men, with the affections of the commonalty both in town and country, were now his only ſupport; but very inſufficient were they to retrieve his affairs. On the third of September, however, he iſſued a proclamation, forbidding any one to appear at a diet, which the duke adminiſtrator had ſummoned to meet on the fifth of October, at Malchim; and, again, ſent very ſtrong repreſentations to Ratiſbon. But all the conſequence of this oppoſition was, that the duke adminiſtrator adjourned the diet to the thirtieth of November; and, for greater ſecurity, removed it to Roſtock, where it was opened on that day, and broke up on the eighteenth of December. The duke of Strelitz's deputies were preſent; and the contributions for the contingent of the imperial army and the ſupport of the Schwartzburgers were ſettled; upon which the latter began their march; and, in January 1735, entered, as we have already mentioned, the territories of Mecklenburg. Duke Charles Leopold had iſſued, on the thirty-firſt of the preceding month, a new proclamation, exhorting his ſubjects to oppoſe the invaſion of foreigners. But duke Chriſtian Lewis, by a counter-edict of the eleventh of January, 1735, prevented its taking effect.

The troops of Schwartzburg and Holſtein lay ſiege to Schwerin.

The Schwartzburgers were no ſooner arrived, than the Holſteiners quitted Guſtrow to join them; and, on the ſecond of February, 1735, both marched in one body to Schwerin, under the

the command of major-general Platen, who, on the fourth, ſummoned the city; and, on his not receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, ſummoned it again, the day following. The firſt of theſe ſummonſes was delivered by two officers, a drummer and a notary, who were not admitted. The meſſengers of the ſecond were a captain, a drummer, and a notary. Theſe, on their admiſſion into the place, were put into a cloſe chariot, and brought to the caſtle, where the drummer and the notary were detained in the guard-houſe; but the captain was introduced to the duke in his apartments. This officer deſiring to ſpeak with the commandant, the duke anſwered, that he himſelf was commandant. On this the captain made an apology for his being obliged to ſignify to him the emperor's mandate, that he ſhould ſurrender; and, on the duke's not allowing him to read it, he laid it on the table. The duke then complaining of general Platen's ſeverity, in not allowing time for conſideration, the captain replied, that the emperor's orders were to be immediately obeyed.

But the duke thought otherwiſe; or at leaſt acted as if he did; and the ſiege being, conſequently, opened in form, he was wanting in nothing becoming a vigilant commander. He vigorouſly anſwered, with both muſquetry and cannon, the batteries that were played againſt him. But weak as the beſiegers were, the beſieged and their works were ſtill weaker. The *Spielohum* was carried on the ſeventh; and two days after the beſiegers became maſters of the town. During this ſiege, every thing bad was apprehended from the temper and deſperate circumſtances of the beſieged duke, even to the blowing up of the caſtle, and the whole chamber of records. No doubt it was ſurmiſed, that many dangerous informations might be found there, particularly that of the French alliance; but there is no proof of any ſuch thing; and the caſtle's not having been actually blown up, appears to me a ſufficient proof that it was never intended. Perhaps it may be ſaid, that the duke had given orders for that purpoſe, and had afterwards revoked them; but had any ſuch

thing happened, it would have been made public upon the taking of the town.

Schwerin surrenders.

When the caſtle ſurrendered, the whole garriſon were made priſoners of war; a ſmall comfort; yet ſmall as it was, it had been recently denied to general Tilly, and to other brave men who had honeſtly ſerved their ſovereign; but their reſtraint was of ſhort continuance; they were all ſet at liberty, upon promiſing not to join the duke.

The duke eſcapes to Wiſmar.

No doubt the reader is in pain for the fate of this unhappy prince. Two days before the taking of the city, he croſſed the lake of Schwerin with ſome of his ſervants, and found himſelf nearly in the ſame condition as that he had before been in, whilſt ſerving under Charles XII. in Poland. He was obliged to take up with a wretched horſe belonging to a farmer; and to refreſh himſelf in a mill near Wiſmar, to which town he proceeded, in the afternoon, in a coach. Here his ſtay was of ſome continuance, and we ſhall give an account of it in the ſequel.

Domitz blockaded.

Schwerin being thus reduced, the troops of the Execution marched to Domitz; and, on their appearing before that fortreſs, colonel Erich, the commandant, was ſummoned to ſurrender, by a letter from the duke adminiſtrator. But his anſwer was, that his ſovereign had before laid his commands on him, to defend himſelf to the utmoſt, and that he thought his principal obedience was due to him. Hereupon the place was inveſted, and a ſecond ſummons ſent. But Erick, inſtead of obeying it, laid the fortifications under water; and, being ſummoned a third time, declared, he would ſurrender, if duke Chriſtian Lewis would prevail on duke Charles Leopold to releaſe him and his garriſon from their oath. This was ſufficient to ſhew the colonel's firmneſs and reſolution, ſince he well knew ſuch a demand could not be complied with. The weakneſs of the beſiegers being ſuch, that other means could not be uſed, the blockade was raiſed. The ſending a greater number of troops againſt Domitz did not ſuit either the nobility or the foreign princes. And thus to thoſe jarring intereſts, duke Charles Leopold owed his ſtill having, as it were, one foot in his country.

The blockade raiſed.

Duke

Duke Chriſtian Lewis fixes his reſidence at Schwerin.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis now fixed his reſidence at Schwerin, and in all his meaſures complied with the imperial mandates. Roſtock was garriſoned with Schwartzburgers, and Guſtrow, with Holſteiners; upon which the Pruſſians entirely evacuated the country. The placing of the Schwartzburgers in Roſtock, was called a receiving of thoſe troops into the ſervice of the city, in virtue of her right to have a garriſon of her own, now reſtored to her by a charter of the emperor, for ſhe had diveſted herſelf of it in 1716, in favour of duke Charles Leopold; whoſe ordinances, having been all annulled, this agreement was of courſe ſuperſeded. This new garriſon, however, conſiſted of no more than one company, the reſt of the Schwartzenburgers being quartered in the other neighbouring places.

Diet of Roſtock in 1735.

The diet appointed to meet at Roſtock on the eighth of September, likewiſe, took place. It was firſt to have been held at Sternberg; but, in regard to ſome circumſtances, the emperor permitted it to be removed to Roſtock. At this meeting, the imperial mandates were put in full execution.

Re eſtabliſhment of the two high courts of juſtice.

We have already taken notice of the eſtabliſhment of the high courts of juſtice at Guſtrow in 1736, the duke adminiſtrator cauſed it to be opened at Guſtrow, on the ninth of November, by privy-counſellor Pichler. But it is farther neceſſary to obſerve, concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of this tribunal, that its proper ſeat had been at Sternberg; that it was changed to Parcham, and then to Guſtrow, till duke Charles Leopold removed it to Domitz. But by theſe removals it fell into diſuſe; ſo that for a long time there were no ſittings, the judge, aſſiſtors, and plaintiffs refuſing to appear there. And both the nobility and the country made theſe removals a capital point in their repreſentation of grievances.

Duke Charles Leopold's proceedings at Wiſmar.

In the mean time, Duke Charles Leopold had thundered out, as uſual, ſeveral pieces againſt the proceedings of his adverſary, from his retreat at Wiſmar. But, inſtead of finding any regard paid to his remonſtrances, he had the mortification of ſeeing Mr. Keil, a member of his privy-council, arreſted, and carried priſoner to Vienna, by order of the aulic council; and himſelf caſt

in a ſuit with Mr. Wendeſſen, the marſhal of his court, whom he had diſmiſſed; the iſſue of which ſuit was very honourable to that gentleman, the duke being obliged to allow him two thouſand dollars coſts, which were to be made good by a deduction from his highneſs's yearly allowance. Farther, in 1737, the duke's favourite counſellor, Wolf, died ſuddenly; and, as his highneſs had, the ſame year, taken into his ſervice people of all ſorts, and reſolved to eſtabliſh a life-guard of one hundred men, the Swediſh tribunal, at the requeſt of the court of Hanover, ordered all thoſe whom he had already or might afterwards inliſt for that purpoſe, to be taken up and delivered as priſoners, to a party of Hanoverians.

AFTER all, if what has been ſaid of the two counſellors, Keil and Wolf, be true, the loſs of them was a gain, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, to duke Charles Leopold. They were confidently charged with all duke Charles Leopold's projects, eſpecially in his latter years. But, on the other hand, it may be fairly doubted, whether they had aſcendant enough over their maſter for that purpoſe; for he had too little of the minor in him to be diverted from any reſolution he had once taken, and in which he himſelf was his only counſellor; or whether he would have ſo much as entertained them in his ſervice, any longer than they paid an implicit obedience to his dictates. The ſituation of a miniſter, who ſerves a prince ſo very unfortunate, and at the ſame time ſo inflexible, as duke Charles Leopold, cannot fail, in general, of being extremely diſagreeable, ſince misfortunes in government are imputed, by vulgar prejudice, to a want of prudence, integrity, and other qualities neceſſary to conſtitute an able miniſter.

Duke Chriſtian Lewis is deſi ous to reſign the adminiſtration.

THE expenditures of the courts of Hanover and Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttle, on occaſion of the imperial commiſſion againſt duke Charles Leopold, and the execution of it, were charged, as we have already mentioned, to the amount of a million of dollars. The elector of Hanover had beſides advanced money for taking the Schwartzburgers into the ſervice; for which eight manors lying neareſt to Lunenburg were mortgaged to him.

him. The nobility, likewiſe, made great demands for the charges they had incurred, and the damages they had ſuſtained; and required that the manor of Doberan, the beſt in the whole country, ſhould be mortgaged to them; accordingly their requeſt was granted by the aulic council, notwithſtanding all the proteſtations the duke adminiſtrator could make againſt it. Laſt of all, appeared the private creditors of duke Charles Leopold, petitioning to be paid out of the ducal manors; and the aulic council decreed, likewiſe, in their favour. Thus the greater part of the ducal domains was falling into private hands. In ſuch an exingency, the duke adminiſtrator could not be ſilent; and, his repreſentations and complaints availing nothing, he reſolved, if poſſible, to give up the adminiſtration, and reſign the commiſſion; and, accordingly, wrote, for that purpoſe, to the emperor: but his imperial majeſty, inſtead of agreeing to either, prolonged the term of the commiſſion. Though the duke was not allowed to reſign the adminiſtration, he thought it adviſeable to ſecure himſelf and his family as much as poſſible from the damages which muſt inevitably ariſe from the alienation of the ducal demeſnes. He, therefore, publiſhed, by way of manifeſto, a piece intitled, *A true State of the Legal power*, &c. ſetting forth the reaſons, *why he could not acknowledge, as his own, thoſe debts which the late diſturbances had brought on the duchy.*

Events in favour of duke Charles Leopold.

THE cloſe of the year 1740 was ſignalized by two events highly favourable to the expectations of duke Charles Leopold. The emperor, Charles VI. dying in November, the aulic council expired with him; and, the empreſs Anne, the duke's ſiſter-in-law, departed this life, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, after appointing his grandſon John, then an infant, her ſucceſſor. The nobility of Mecklenburg, on the firſt news of the emperor's death, diſpatched a miniſter to the vicariate court at Dreſden; which, at their requeſt, confirmed the decrees of commiſſion and adminiſtration, iſſued againſt duke Charles Leopold, in favour of his brother, by the aulic council. The duke himſelf omitted ſending any miniſter to Dreſden. Perhaps it was becauſe, the vicariate court, being but a temporary tribunal, its

confirmation of the decrees of the aulic council was but an interim act, to be of force only till a new aulic council ſhould be eſtabliſhed. Be that as it will, the firſt news he had from Ruſſia was ſufficient to make him overlook this advantage of his adverſaries.

The princeſs of Mecklenburg married to Antony Ulric, prince of Brunſwick.

We have already mentioned that the empreſs Anne had appointed the princeſs of Mecklenburg, daughter of duke Charles Leopold, to ſucceed her in the throne, as rightful heireſs to the ſovereignty of the Ruſſian empire. In 1739, ſhe gave her niece in marriage to Antony Ulric, prince of Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttle, who had by her a prince, named Ivan or John, in 1740, and a princeſs named Catharine the year following. But theſe affectionate views of the empreſs, with regard to her niece, were in a great meaſure defeated, by her placing too unlimited a confidence in her favourite, the famous John Erneſt Biron. This man, who was a Courlander by birth, and of mean extraction, contrived to inſinuate himſelf ſo far into the empreſs Anne's good graces, that, after bringing him with her from Mittaw, ſhe not only raiſed him and his brother to the dignity of counts, but by her influence on the ſtates of Courland procured him to be elected duke of that country. In ſhort, her partiality for this favourite was carried to ſuch a height as to influence all her actions, and ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be prevailed on by that upſtart, to make a will, appointing prince John, only an infant two months old, her ſucceſſor, to the excluſion of the illuſtrious princeſs his mother, to whom the right of ſucceſſion properly belonged; at the ſame time nominating Biron guardian and regent, during the young emperor's minority. Soon after making this ſtrange and unnatural will, ſhe died, as we have obſerved, in October, 1740.

Her ſon John, an infant, raiſed to the Ruſſian throne.

The young emperor John was immediately acknowledged by the ſenate and people, in his cradle; and Biron ſeized on the helm of ſtate, as guardian and regent; but it was only to experience the greater fall, ſuch as his unbounded ambition properly deſerved. The arrangements of the late empreſs were far from being pleaſing to the princeſs of Mecklenburg; who found that

ſhe

ſhe and her huſband had no other ſhare in the government, than the charge of the young emperor's education. But her ſituation was extremely delicate. The validity of her ſon's nomination to the empire reſted intirely upon the will of the late empreſs, which ſhe had not power or intereſt to ſet aſide. Though ſhe was fully ſenſible of the injury that had been done her, ſtill ſhe was obliged to diſſemble. All that ſhe could do under the preſent circumſtances, was to form a party that might countermine Biron, who had no family-intereſt in the empire, and was, moreover, hated by the great nobility. To counterbalance this unpopularity, he made uſe of his authority as regent, to fill the moſt important poſts in the empire with his creatures, which ſerved only to haſten his ruin. Many of the nobility were ſhocked at the thoughts of being obliged to a perſon, whom they ſtill looked upon with contempt. They likewiſe perceived that, as his authority had no ſupport but the will of the late empreſs, which ſeemed to be generally diſapproved, they could have no ſure dependence upon him; and therefore they privately connected themſelves with the princeſs of Mecklenburg, who behaved with great prudence on this trying occaſion. She omitted no opportunity of fermenting this general diſcontent, and Biron thought himſelf ſo ſecure, that he gave himſelf very little trouble in watching over her conduct. Thus ſhe found means to ſtrengthen her party, till her meaſures being ſettled, the principal of the nobility and the prelates of Pruſſia, in the night preceding the ſeventeenth of November, 1740, aſſembled in the palace of the princeſs of Mecklenburg, who then bore the title of grand ducheſs, and not only declared her regent, but gave orders for arreſting him as an uſurper and a tyrant. General count Munich was charged with the execution of the orders, which accordingly took effect; and Biron was legally tried, and condemned to loſe his head: but his ſentence was, by the lenity of the grand ducheſs, changed into that of baniſhment into Siberia. Prince Antony Ulric, huſband to the grand ducheſs, was declared lord high admiral and generaliſſimo.

The princeſs of Mecklenburg made regent.

THE exaltation of the grand ducheſs to the regency of the Ruſſian empire, raiſed the drooping ſpirits of duke Charles Leopold, who now began to imagine he ſhould have ſome weight in the affairs of the North. One of her firſt marks of duty to her father, was to remit him the arrears of the penſion he received from Ruſſia, with aſſurances that it ſhould be regularly paid for the future. This encouraged him to remove from Wiſmar to Domitz; for he now flattered himſelf, and indeed with great reaſon, that he could not remain much longer deprived of the regency of his dominions. But ſuch is the inſtability of human greatneſs, that, at the cloſe of the year 1741, another revolution happened in Ruſſia, by which all his moſt ſanguine expectations were blaſted.

PROVIDENCE, not content with aſſerting its ſovereignty, by confounding the beſt laid ſchemes of the boldeſt uſurpers, ſometimes ſeems to take a pleaſure in pointing out to man his only happineſs by diſturbing him in the lawful poſſeſſion of the higheſt earthly honours. There never was known a ſtronger inſtance of both, than in the ſhort ſpace of a few months, which followed the death of the empreſs Anne. Scarce had her niece, the grand ducheſs, turned out the uſurper Biron, when ſhe, her huſband, and her ſon, the young emperor, were ſtripped of all their power and grandeur.

Revolution in favour of the late empreſs Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH, the only ſurviving child of Peter the Great, had long beheld, with a jealous eye, her uncle's deſcendants filling the throne of Ruſſia, contrary to the teſtamentary diſpoſitions of her father, whoſe memory was ſtill adored by that nation. She was ſenſible that the princeſs of Mecklenburg and her ſon had the priority of birth; yet ſhe apprehended that the nation, by giving her father leave to appoint his ſucceſſor, had in ſome meaſure aboliſhed all hereditary right, and acknowledged no power but their monarch's will. The people very juſtly cheriſhed the memory of Peter the Great; and loved the daughter for the father's virtues. Elizabeth reſembled that prince in his perſon, and, moreover, was graceful and affable; accompliſhments which increaſed the public prejudice in her favour. She had

behaved with great circumſpection under all the revolutions of government, yet, during the late reign, had been ſo cloſely obſerved, that it would have been difficult for her to form any ſettled party. But the princeſs of Mecklenburg, by leaving her more at liberty, gave her an opportunity to attach a great number to her intereſt. Many of the diſcontented, who, had not been admitted to the regent's confidence, hoped for a ſhare of the principal employments under a princeſs whom they themſelves ſhould raiſe to the throne. But the generality of the conſpirators were actuated by their diſlike to the Germans, who, in the late and preſent reign, had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the great employments of the ſtate; for which reaſon the Ruſſians gave it the name of the German government. All the precautions of the court could not hinder the princeſs Elizabeth from having ſecret interviews with many noblemen and officers in her intereſt, who promiſed to run all hazards in order to ſupport her in aſcending the throne. The plan of revolution being concerted, in the night between the fifth and ſixth of December, the conſpirators repaired to the apartments of the princeſs Elizabeth, and offered to declare her empreſs. She was favoured by the univerſal defection of the Ruſſian army, and their officers repairing to her lodging, ſhe gave orders for ſecuring all the German guards, and for preventing any alarm from reaching the ear of the great ducheſs. She then put herſelf at the head of a regiment of guards, and proceeded to the principal apartments of the palace, where ſhe placed centinels over the great ducheſs and all her chief domeſtics, and ſet guards upon the houſes of all her miniſters and officers of ſtate. All this was done with ſo much ſecrecy and regularity, that the great ducheſs had no ſuſpicion of what had happened, till, awaking in the morning, ſhe found herſelf a priſoner, and in a few minutes underſtood, that the princeſs Elizabeth had been proclaimed at the head of the regiment of guards and other troops, empreſs of all the Ruſſias. Soon after, the new empreſs entered the apartment of the great ducheſs, and in perſon acquainted her with the revolution that had happened, exhorting her at the ſame

time to ſubmit to her fate, which was, that ſhe, her huſband, and her ſon ſhould remove out of the palace to another houſe, in order to be conducted to Germany. Here they were ſtill treated with reſpect, though guarded with the utmoſt care, and the following month they ſet out, under a proper eſcort, for Germany. At the ſame time they received a conſiderable ſum of money; and all the jewels which the empreſs Anne had given to the princeſs of Mecklenburg, were delivered to her, and an annual penſion ſettled on her and her ſon.

The emperor John, and his father and mother exiled.

THE grand ducheſs had philoſophy enough not to repine at her reverſe of fortune; ſhe thought herſelf in ſome meaſure happy in being treated with this ſeeming moderation; and found ſuch conſolation in the near proſpect of ſeeing her father, whoſe long experience of adverſity qualified him to teach that conſtancy of mind, for which he had been ſo conſpicuous, that ſhe ſcarcely regretted the high rank from which ſhe was fallen. But ſhe was ſoon diſappointed in thoſe pleaſing hopes; in her way to Dantzick ſhe was arreſted, with her huſband and ſon, and carried back to Riga, where they were put under confinement. The pretence for this behaviour was, that in trying the heads of the late adminiſtration, ſuch diſcoveries had been made, as rendered it unſafe to truſt the grand ducheſs or her huſband with their liberty. All Europe, eſpecially the courts of Germany, were ſurpriſed at this proceeding, as no crime or act of delinquency could be charged againſt the grand ducheſs, who had only ſubmitted to the will of others, and that likewiſe to her own prejudice. The courts of Vienna and Berlin preſented memorials on this head; but all the anſwer they received from the new empreſs was, that the princeſs Elizabeth ſhould be treated in her confinement with the regard due to her birth, till the arrangement of public affairs would permit her being ſet at liberty. From Riga the unfortunate priſoners were brought back to Ruſſia, and ſeparate places of confinement were aſſigned to each; that of the princeſs was a convent near Archangel, where ſhe died on the fourteenth of April, 1746. But ſhe was interred in the convent of Alexander Neſſky, near St. Peterburg.

burg, and in a manner ſuitable to her dignity; the late empreſs herſelf aſſiſting at the ceremony, and paying her, as it is aſſured, the tribute of a few tears. Her huſband and daughter are ſaid to be ſtill living in ſome part of Ruſſia; but her ſon, the dethroned emperor Ivan, or John, met with his fate in 1764, by a cataſtrophe ſo extraordinary as merits particular notice.

Tragical fate of the emperor John.

THE emperor John, being little more than a year old, when he exchanged the throne for a priſon, remained in confinement and obſcurity from that period. The late empreſs, by an extraordinary magnanimity, permitted a prince to live, who had worn her crown. When her preſent imperial majeſty came to the throne of Ruſſia, it was neceſſary that ſhe ſhould reconnoitre every avenue, by which her ſecurity might be endangered. In this ſearch an opening appeared, through which a way might be eaſily made for new revolutions. This was the depoſed emperor Ivan, who, notwithſtanding his long obſcurity, was of too much importance to be intirely neglected by the preſent empreſs. One of the firſt objects of her public care, was to examine into the qualifications of this illuſtrious priſoner, whoſe misfortunes ſhe reſolved, as far as poſſible, to alleviate. With this view ſhe paid him a viſit; but, to her great ſurpriſe, obſerved in him a total privation of ſenſe and reaſon, with a defect in his utterance; all which might be owing to his want of ideas, in conſequence of a total neglect of education.

THE empreſs, from her natural benevolence and compaſſion, gave directions that the poor prince ſhould be treated with great care and tenderneſs; and, to prevent ill-intentioned perſons from moleſting him, or making uſe of his name or orders to diſturb the public tranquillity, ſhe ordered a guard to be placed over his perſon, under the command of two truſty officers in the caſtle of Schluſſelburg, not far from Peterſburg. Theſe officers were captain Wlaſſeof, and lieutenant Techekin.

ALL perſons, however, were not ſo throughly convinced of the incapacity of this prince; he was now twenty-four years of age, and might eaſily be made an inſtrument for exciting dangerous commotions. Accordingly one Mirowitz, a ſecond lieu-

tenant

tenant in the regiment Smolenſko, formed a deſign of ſetting this prince at liberty, and putting himſelf at the head of a party. With this view he tampered with ſome of the ſoldiers of the garriſon of Schluſſelburg, whom he gained over to his project. He then deſired to be put upon guard, though out of his turn; probably becauſe his regular turn did not coincide with the time in which his aſſociates were to do duty. Mirowitz obtained his requeſt, and, on July the fifteenth, 1764, at two in the morning, he ſuddenly called up the main guard, and ordered the ſoldiers to load with ball. Berenikoff, governor of the fortreſs, alarmed at the noiſe occaſioned by theſe motions, ran out of his apartment to inquire into the reaſon of this diſturbance, but was anſwered by a blow on his head with the butt end of a muſket, which brought him to the ground. Mirowitz loſt no time to improve his advantage, but furiouſly attacked, at the head of his troops, the handful of ſoldiers who guarded prince Ivan. He was received, however, with ſpirit by the guard, who quickly obliged him to retire. Mirowitz, ſtill not diſheartened, ordered a piece of cannon to be brought from the ramparts, and prepared to batter the place. The commanders of the prince's guard, ſeeing this preparation, and holding it impoſſible to ſtand againſt cannon, thought proper to take counſel together. Upon conſidering the dreadful conſequences which muſt enſue to the public peace, if their priſoner ſhould be enlarged, and at the ſame time the puniſhment that would be inflicted on them by the laws, in caſe they parted with their charge; they came to this ſad reſolution of taking away the life of the unfortunate prince *.

When the two officers had perpetrated this fact, they took the dead body, and expoſed it reeking with blood, and pierced

* Some who pretend to anecdotes concerning this tragical affair, relate that prince Ivan was in his bed and aſleep, when the captain of the guard entered his chamber. The firſt blow was but ſlight, and only rouzed him from his ſleep. Though wholly unprepared for defence, he made a vigorous ſtruggle for his life, and even broke the captain's ſword; but another coming in to his aſſiſtance, the unfortunate prince was overpowered, and ſoon laid dead at their feet.

with

with ten ſtabs, to the eyes of the conſpirators, with theſe words, "There is your emperor, let him now head you." The monſter Mirowitz, ſeeing the dead body of the prince, was ſo confounded and ſtruck at a ſight he ſo little expected, that he acknowledged that very inſtant his temerity and his guilt, and diſcovered his repentance to the troop, which about an hour before he had ſeduced, and rendered the accomplices of his crime. Then it was that the two officers, who had nipt this inſurrection in the bud, joined with the officers of the fortreſs in ſecuring the perſon of Mirowitz, and in bringing back the ſoldiers to their duty.

THE empreſs, who was extremely affected at the news of ſo tragical an event, omitted no endeavours to clear herſelf from all ſuſpicion of having the leaſt ſhare in it; ſhe therefore publiſhed a manifeſto upon the occaſion, from which our account of that prince's cataſtrophe has been faithfully extracted. But there is no reaſon from any part of that princeſs's conduct to conclude, that the Ruſſian court could have connived at, much leſs encouraged, an attempt of that nature. The trial of the conſpirators was committed to the ſenate, who condemned Mirowitz to ſuffer death, and he was publicly executed, in purſuance of this ſentence, on the twenty-ſixth of September. The officers who put the prince to death, were, in conſideration of their good intentions, with reſpect to the quiet of the ſtate, amply rewarded for their fidelity. Such was the fate of the young prince Ivan, which was one of the ſtrongeſt inſtances of the vanity of human grandeur; he had been crowned and dethroned in his cradle, torn from his friends and relations; twenty-four years impriſoned, and at length cloſed the tragic ſcene, by dying a victim to the public tranquility *.

Diſtreſſed ſituation of duke Charles Leopold.

BUT it is now time to return to Mecklenburg. Duke Charles Leopold, hearing of the misfortunes of his daughter and her family, once more ſaw himſelf reduced to great diſtreſs, and deſtitute of all viſible ſupport. In this forlorn ſituation, he reſid-

* Hiſtory of Ruſſia, Kluver, Buckholtz.

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ed at Domitz in a very private manner, ſome of the neighbouring nobility being his chief company. He wrote a very affecting letter to the Czarina Elizabeth, beſeeching her to ſet his daughter at liberty; but it had no effect: the grief he felt at this refuſal was increaſed to ſuch a degree by her death in 1746, that, his ſtrength and health daily declining, he himſelf followed her on the twenty-eighth of November, 1747. He died without male iſſue, and the ſucceſſion of courſe devolved to his brother, the adminiſtrator.

Death of duke Charles Leopold.

His character.

If we conſider the character of duke Charles Leopold in general, we ſhall find him appear to the greateſt advantage in his misfortunes; he was poſſeſſed of probity, honour, reſolution, and other princely virtues in ſo eminent a degree, as often to carry them to exceſs. Theſe great qualities were perceivable in his very faults; which never could have been committed, or at leaſt never would have appeared, had there happened no heats of animoſity to bring them to light, or had he himſelf been more fortunate in his undertakings. The honour of having been a good ruler, before the unhappy inteſtine diſcords roſe to ſuch a height, cannot be denied him by the bittereſt of his adverſaries. It is only his deſire of extending his prerogative that can be cenſured; but his views in deſiring it were not blameable; they being ſolely founded on his deſire to reſtore the proſperity and reputation of his country both at home and abroad; and in the cities of Schwerin eſpecially, nobody ever had occaſion to complain of his exertion of arbitrary power. He in many particulars reſembled Charles XII. of Sweden; but differed from that prince in not being inſenſible to the charms of the fair ſex: but had too great a command over himſelf, not to keep this paſſion within decent bounds. He was moſt remarkable for the inflexible reſolution, with which he purſued his deſigns. By this he was diſtinguiſhed throughout his whole life, and even amidſt all the agitations of adverſity, ſtood unſhaken, like a rock projecting its ſummit above the reach of the higheſt waves *.

* Kluver, Buckholtz.

ULRICA SOPHIA,

Princefs of Mecklenburg Suerin.

CHAP. VII.

Containing the Reign of DUKE CHRISTIAN LEWIS II.

He aſſembles the ſtates at Roſtock. Conciliates the affections of the people by his lenity and juſtice. The deputies of the towns of Mecklenburg meet at Butzow, and both they and the nobles comply with the duke's intentions. The two houſes of Mecklenburg make the famous conciliatory convention. The death of Guſtava Carolina, his highneſs's conſort. A diet held at Schwerin produces great diſſenſions between the towns and the nobility. An imperial reſcript granted the duke for the recovery of his mortgaged lands. The celebrated agreement concluded between the two houſes, in which all differences relating to taxes and contributions are determined, and the privileges of the nobility and towns aſcertained. A miſunderſtanding between duke Chriſtian and the preſent king of Pruſſia. The death of Chriſtian Lewis. His character and iſſue.

UPON the death of duke Charles Leopold, his dominions devolved to his brother Chriſtian Lewis II. who had been adminiſtrator of that country, by virtue of the imperial commiſſion, during the ſpace of fifteen years. We have already taken notice that he was born at Grabow, on the eleventh of May, 1683, and brought up with his other two brothers, eſpecially duke Charles Leopold. We have alſo ſhewn, in the foregoing accounts of his two brothers, what influence he had in their concerns, and in thoſe of the country. We ſhall only add that, as adminiſtrator, in the year 1743, he eaſed the country of the heavy load of Holſteiners, whom the duke their ſovereign tranſferred into the ſervice of the king of Pruſſia. He was at Schwetin when he received the news of his brother's deceaſe. The firſt ſtep he took was to convoke an aſſembly of the ſtates at Roſtock, at which the deputies of Stargard alſo aſſiſted. The reſolutions of this aſſembly ſeem to have conſiſted chiefly in compliments 1747.

of condolence and congratulation to duke Chriſtian Lewis, whom they looked upon as a prince reſerved by Providence to ſave this afflicted province from miſery and deſtruction. Their hopes were not ill founded, for ſoon after his acceſſion to the ſovereignty, he eaſed his ſubjects of the heavy burthen of Schwartzburgers, whom he diſcharged.

THE reputation which his highneſs had already acquired for his lenity and juſtice was ſuch, that the country had reaſon to promiſe itſelf a long enjoyment of peace and proſperity, eſpecially as this prince was not only on good terms with his neighbours, but was highly eſteemed by them. A long time before his acceſſion to the ſovereignty, the late king of Denmark had honoured him with the order of the Elephant, and after his acceſſion, the empreſs of Ruſſia paid him the like regard, returning him the order of St. Andrew, which duke Charles Leopold had worn and ſent back. The king of Pruſſia ſhewed his goodwill to him in promoting the marriage of Frederick, the hereditary prince, with the princeſs of Wirtemberg, niece to Frederick William, of Brandenburg Suet; and by admitting prince Lewis into the Pruſſian ſervice, with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

1748. THE duke had not been long poſſeſſed of the government in his own right, when the deputies of the different towns of Mecklenburg held a meeting at Butzow, to conſider of ways and means for relieving the neceſſities of the ſtate. The nobility appearing diſpoſed to compromiſe their diſputes with the towns, a conference was ordered to be held at Roſtock on the fourteenth
1748. of February, in order to terminate their differences. Here the privileges of the nobility and commons were confirmed, and a free gift was voted in favour of the ſovereign. Soon after an aſſembly of the ſtates was convoked at Schwerin, where the deputies from all parts of the province aſſembled. Here the diſtreſſed ſtate of the country, the public debts, and other grievances were taken into conſideration. The points propoſed to the aſſembly by the duke were, to ſettle the diſputes between the two princely lines, Schwerin and Strelitz; to determine

mine the conteſt between the nobility and the towns, concerning the proportion of their contributions; and to try to redeem the ducal lands, that had been mortgaged, in the late troubles, to the neighbouring powers. After ſome debates it was reſolved to comply with the duke's intentions, as far as the ſtates were able; upon which the privileges of the nobility were confirmed, and the aſſembly was diſſolved.

1748. The two houſes make the famous conciliatory convention.

THE ſame year the two princely lines made the famous conciliatory convention or agreement, in virtue of which all differences were removed between the two branches, by which they aboliſhed the former community in the chief courts of juſtice, in the conſiſtories, provincial cheſts, and diets. With this, however, the nobility on both ſides were diſſatisfied.

The death of Guſtava Carolina, his highneſs's conſort.

IN the month of March, this year, his highneſs loſt his excellent conſort, Guſtava Carolina, of the line of Strelitz, a princeſs whoſe death was moſt ſincerely lamented by the whole country of Mecklenburg.

ON the twelfth of October, the Land-rakt Von Pluſkow, read to the nobility aſſembled at Roſtock, a letter from the king of England, which had been brought by one of the lords of the court, named Von Jaſmund, promiſing to take the nobility under his protection.

A diet held at Schwerin produces diſſenſions between the towns and the nobility.

THE ſame year a diet was held at Schwerin, which ended to the diſſatisfaction of all parties. The circle of Stargard proteſted againſt the reſolutions of this diet, which produced great diſſenſions between the towns and the nobility.

1749. An imperial reſcript granted the duke for the recovery of his mortgaged lands.

THE duke having applied to the court of Vienna this year, in regard to the means of ranſoming his lands, that had been mortgaged to the duchy of Brunſwick, the emperor ſent an imperial reſcript, couched in the moſt paternal terms, that the ſum owing to the houſe of Brunſwick muſt be paid; that the only way to recover the loſſes his country had ſuſtained by the ill conduct of his late brother, was to be reconciled to the nobility. The duke took this reſcript in very good part, and a diet was held at Schwerin for terminating all differences. An imperial commiſſion was iſſued out for that purpoſe; and many

conferences and aſſemblies were held. This commiſſion was granted to the count of Sala, imperial commiſſary, by a diploma dated at Preſburg, on the twenty-third of June, 1751. After many meetings and conferences this weighty affair was at length determined by an agreement at Roſtock, dated the eighteenth of April, 1755, by which duke Chriſtian Lewis entered into a compact, for himſelf and his heirs, with the nobility and ſtates of the country, to which the line of Strelitz alſo aſſented, to ſettle all differences concerning the public contributions and taxes, on equitable terms.

A celebrated agreement concluded between the two houſes.

1755. THE duke's declaration, which is the Magna Charta, or great charter of the liberties of Mecklenburg, was dated at Roſtock, the eighteenth of April, 1755; it contained articles at full length, whereby the privileges of the nobility and towns are aſcertained, and the quota of their contributions is expreſly determined. So that all occaſion for future differences is removed, the conſtitution is ſecured, the prerogative of the prince and the liberties of the ſubject are eſtabliſhed on a ſolid baſis. It

1756. conſiſted of five and twenty articles, and five hundred and thirty ſections. It was alſo ſigned by the nobility and ſtates of the land, in behalf of themſelves and their heirs for ever, as a perpetual compact and agreement between the people and the ſovereign, intended to prevent all future ſeeds of diſturbance. The court of Strelitz acceded to this agreement the very ſame year. And on the fourteenth of April, 1756, the emperor publiſhed a decree, confirming the above agreement between the dukes of Mecklenburg and their ſubjects.

A miſunderſtanding between duke Chriſtian and the king of Pruſſia.

ABOUT this time a miſunderſtanding aroſe between duke Chriſtian and the preſent king of Pruſſia, the latter taking every opportunity to vex and harraſs the people of Mecklenburg bordering on his frontiers. Complaint was made of this proceeding, which continued to be more violent, after the death of duke Chriſtian, under the preſent duke's adminiſtration. The affair was referred to the diet of Ratiſbon; but the war which ſoon after broke out between the empreſs queen and the king of Pruſſia,

1 prevented

prevented the country of Mecklenburg from receiving any relief, but rather expoſed it to a new ſeries of calamities.

The death of Chriſtian Lewis.

No ſooner had duke Chriſtian Lewis ſettled the peace and tranquility of his country, than he was ſeized with a mortal illneſs, which carried him off in nine weeks, to the unſpeakable grief of all his ſubjects. This melancholy event happened on Sunday the thirtieth of May, 1758, at about eleven in the forenoon, after he had lived to the age of ſeventy-three years fifteen days.

He died in a proper time, before the fatal war broke out between the king of Pruſſia and the houſe of Auſtria, ſo that he did not live to ſee the calamities of war, and his ſubjects plundered and harraſſed by any of the belligerant powers.

His character

This prince, by his temperance and regularity, lived to a great age; no prince was more beloved by his ſubjects, his humanity and benevolence intitling him indeed to the general love of mankind. Towards the latter end of his days he had a weakneſs in his eyes, and is ſaid to have received ſome benefit in 1751, from the aſſiſtance of Dr. Taylor, the famous oculiſt. Among other coins he ſtruck ſome of gold, ſo high as even ten dollar pieces, on the face of which his portrait is well engraved, it bearing a good reſemblance. He was extremely fond of muſic, and a great lover of order in church and ſtate, hence the tranquillity of the country had been his aim ever ſince he undertook the regency.

His iſſue.

By his conſort, Guſtava Carolina, who died eight years before him, he left the following children:

1. Frederick II. the preſent duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, born the ninth of November, 1717, who immediately took upon him the reins of government, and has hitherto ſtudied, even in the midſt of war, to make his people happy. In 1749, he married princeſs Louiſa Frederica, daughter of prince Frederick Lewis, of Stutgard, and of princeſs Henrietta Maria, of Brandenburg Suet, which princeſs Louiſa was born the third of February, 1722. As yet they have had no children.

2. Ulrica

2. ULRICA SOPHIA, born the first of July, 1723, abbess of Rhune.

3. LEWIS, born the sixth of August, 1725, he married, in 1755, the princess Charlotte Sophia, daughter of Francis Josiah, duke of Saxe Saalfield Coburg, who was born the twenty-fourth of September, 1731. By this princess he has,

1. PRINCE FREDERICK FRANCIS, born on the eighteenth of December 1756.

2. PRINCESS SOPHIA FREDERICA, born on the twenty-fourth of August, 1758.

4. PRINCESS AMELIA, born on the fourteenth of May, 1732, now a canoness at Herforden.

CHAP. VIII.

ADOLPH FREDERICK IV. The reigning Duke of MECKLENBURG STRELITZ, and SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, Queen of GREAT BRITAIN.

The death and issue of Charles Lewis Frederick, of Strelitz Mirow, the father of duke Adolph Frederick IV. the present duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz; and also the death of Adolph Frederick III. duke of Strelitz. Contests about the guardianship of the children of duke Charles Lewis Frederick. Adolph Frederick IV. declared of age. A general view of the blessings of this prince's reign. George III. king of Great Britain, sends to demand his sister, Sophia Charlotte, in marriage. The rejoicings in Mecklenburg Strelitz on that occasion. Her landing in England, her marriage, and being crowned Queen of Great Britain.

The death and issue of Charles Lewis Frederick, of Strelitz Mirow.

WE shall now return to the illustrious house of Strelitz, and here it is necessary to observe, that on the fifth of June, 1752, died duke Charles Lewis Frederick, of Strelitz Mirow, the father of the reigning duke. He was a learned prince

prince, of great capacity, ſtrict morals, and ſingular affability and good-nature. He had been married to Elizabeth Albertina, a pious princeſs, of conſummate prudence, the daughter of duke Erneſtus Frederick, of Saxe-Hilburghauſen, by whom he had five ſons and as many daughters. Theſe were,

1. Christiana Sophia Albertina, born December 6, 1735.

2. Caroline, born on December 22, 1736; but died ſoon after.

3. Adolph Frederick IV. the reigning duke, born May 5, 1738.

4. Elizabeth Christina, born April 13, 1739, and died in the following year.

5. Sophia Louisa, born May 1740, and died on the thirty-firſt of January, 1741.

6. Charles Lewis Frederick, born October 10, 1741.

7. Ernest Gotlob Albert, born Auguſt 27, 1742.

8. Sophia Charlotte, queen of Great Britain, born May 19, 1744.

9. Gothilff, born October 28, 1745.

10. George Augustus, born Auguſt 16, 1748.

Three days after the death of this prince his will was opened, when it appeared that he had appointed his widow the guardian of her children, and this was confirmed by an imperial mandate.

The death of Adolph Frederick III.

On the eleventh of December, in the ſame year, alſo died Adolph Frederick III. duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age. He was a very amiable prince, of a benevolent, chearful diſpoſition, and a great lover of muſic, which he made his principal relaxation. He he had reigned above forty years, and during that period, his ſhare of the country had enjoyed a profound peace, and had recovered from all its calamities. He left no iſſue; for though he had two daughters, Maria Sophia, and Magdalena Chriſtina, the former, who was endowed with all princely virtues and eminent qualities,

qualities, died abbeſs of Ithuren, on the twenty-fourth of February 1727, and the latter when quite young.

Contests about the guardianship of the children of Charles Lewis Frederick.

Frederick IV. was the undoubted heir of his father, the duke of Strelitz Mirow; but being then only fifteen years of age, the ducheſs his mother, who, as we have juſt obſerved, had been entruſted with his guardianſhip, and that of his brothers and ſiſters, ſent the privy counſellor Jacobi to Strelitz, in order to take poſſeſſion of all the princely colleges, or courts of judicature, at New-Strelitz, in the name of her eldeſt ſon. She ſoon followed this miniſter in perſon, accompanied by the duke her ſon, and upon their arrival the guards, as well as the council and officers of the court, ſwore allegiance to the young prince; and the example was followed by the nobility and the whole circle.

But Chriſtian Lewis II. duke of Mecklenburg Shwerin, apprehending the guardianſhip of the young princes to belong to him, as the eldeſt repreſentative of the family, ordered firſt a hundred men to march from Guſtrow, and theſe were ſoon followed by a larger number from the other garriſons. The firſt detachment arrived the thirteenth of December in the territory of Strelitz, and poſted themſelves in a little village about a quarter of a league from the ducal reſidence. Count Baſſewitz, privy counſellor to the duke of Schwerin, was along with this corps. This miniſter publiſhed a manifeſto, throughout the whole country of Strelitz, that the duke his maſter claimed the ſole regency of that duchy, in virtue of ancient family compacts, and the cuſtom of the land. The duke of Schwerin ſent circular letters to the ſame purpoſe to the ſtates of the country, and to all the nobility and gentlemen, as well in the lordſhip of Stargard, as in the principality of Ratzeburg.

In anſwer to this declaration, the court of Strelitz publiſhed another manifeſto, importing, that the late duke of Strelitz Mirow's will was opened on the eighth of June, in the preſence of the whole council, and that notice had been given thereof to the late duke Adolph Frederick III. who made anſwer, that he would not oppoſe the will, if confirmed by the emperor.

In

In consequence of which the dutchess dowager of Mirow had applied for the imperial ratification of the will, and had obtained it. But after this imperial ratification, some persons, ill-intentioned towards the house of Mirow, had prejudiced the late duke Adolph Frederick against her and her children, to such a degree, that in his last illness he entered into another agreement with the duke of Schwerin, which, however, was in its own nature void and of no effect.

These manifestoes brought on a treaty or negotiation, which lasted several days, but proved ineffectual. At length the conferences were broke off, on the twenty-seventh of December, by count Bassewitz; and colonel Zulow, an officer in the duke of Schwerin's service, marched back into the territory of Strelitz, with four companies of foot, and a troop of horse. On the twenty-eighth of December, by break of day, they reached New Strelitz, where they took possession of the ducal residence, and obliged the officers and servants of the court to swear allegiance to the duke of Schwerin. The proclamation or manifesto of the twenty-second of December was enforced, and a garrison was put into the town.

In the mean while, timely notice having been received of the march of the troops of Schwerin, duke Adolph Frederick IV. retired to Gripswald, to avoid being carried to Schwerin, against his own and his mother's consent, and receiving laws from a guardian, who, he thought had no authority over him, nor no right to that office. In this dilemma the dutchess dowager made her complaint to the court of Vienna, and, after many consultations, the best expedient thought of, was to obtain a dispensation from the emperor in favour of her son, declaring him of age, and fit to take upon him the reins of government *. Indeed the young prince's extraordinary capacity, and improvement in sense and learning, he being master at this time of Greek and Latin, rendered such a dispensation a very laudable

Adolph Frederick IV. declared of age.

* See professor Dahner of Gripswald's account of the behaviour of duke Adolph Frederick IV. during his stay in that city.

measure, as a means of putting an end to the domestic disturbances of the serene family. Accordingly the emperor, taking the young prince's superior maturity of judgment into consideration, granted him the indulgence called *Venia ætatis*, by an imperial rescript. This put an end to the dispute between the young prince and the duke of Schwerin, and on the eighth of
1753. January, 1753, he took the reins of government into his own hands.

On this joyful occasion a medal was struck; on the face is the rising sun, diffusing light and joy to the earth and to the Muses. The legend is, *Luce cita Musis terrisque affulget amænus.* On the reverse is this incription, *Adolphus Fredericus IV. D. G. Dux Megapolis jure suo succedens die XI. Dec. MDCCLII. ab Imperatore ætatis veniam adeptus die XII. Jan. MDCCLIII. regiminis fasces capessit.*

A general view of the blessings of his reign.

The hopes of Strelitz being settled on the descendants of duke Charles Lewis Frederick, this happy event spread the highest joy throughout the whole country. His faithful subjects promised themselves the greatest happiness from his dawning virtues, and such shining marks of his uncommon abilities. They all prayed that heaven would pour down on him the choicest of its spiritual and temporal blessings, and that the most serene house of Mecklenburg might never want virtuous heroes, who, emulating the glory of their ancestors, might shine in the records of fame with distinguished lustre.

These wishes have in great measure been fulfilled in the present prince's reign, which has been a constant scene of honour and dignity to the sovereign, and prosperity to the people. By the duke's prudent management, the thunder of war, which roared in the neighbouring states, has been hindered from bursting, and spreading its baleful influence over his country. His love of peace and harmony have induced him to accede to the agreement which duke Christian Lewis II. of Schwerin, concluded with the nobility and states of that duchy. Duke Adolph
1755. Frederick IV. consulting the ease and peace of his subjects as much as his own, confirmed the above compact, and extended

extended it to his ſubjects, and to the diſtrict of Stargard. This inſtrument was ſigned on the fourteenth of July, 1755, by duke Adolph Frederick, and by the ducheſs his mother, as guardian for her other children. On the thirtieth of September following, the duke publiſhed another act of recognition, by which he declared, in the quality of relation and eventual ſucceſſor to duke Chriſtian Lewis, that he would abide by the agreement of Roſtock, dated the eighteenth of April, 1755, by which the diſputes between that prince and his ſubjects were finally ſettled.

King George III. demands the princeſs Sophia Charlotte in marriage.

THUS had this prince laid the foundation of his own felicity and that of his people in peace and tranquillity, and had for ſome time enjoyed the fruits of this happy diſpoſition, when George III. our preſent moſt gracious ſovereign, being juſt come to the throne, thought proper to demand in marriage the princeſs SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, the duke's youngeſt ſiſter.

THIS princeſs, though ſhe had not yet arrived at the eighteenth year of her age, had already ſo filled her native country with the blaze of her many extraordinary accompliſhments, that it was impoſſible the fame of her merit ſhould not extend to other countries, and George III. accordingly became acquainted with it, and gave a private commiſſion to ſome perſons in whom he could confide, to aſcertain by their own obſervations the truth of the picture that had been drawn of her mind; and being ſatisfied with their report, made the above demand. Such an illuſtrious alliance could not fail of being highly acceptable to the princeſs's family; and her being united to a prince of her own generous and humane diſpoſition, with ſuch extraordinary powers of gratifying it, could not but be agreeable to the princeſs herſelf.

ON this occaſion the earl of Harcourt was appointed ambaſſador to the court of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and the ducheſſes of Ancaſter and Hamilton, and the counteſs of Effingham were ſent as ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her to England, in the royal yachts, which, on the eighth of Auguſt, ſailed under a ſmall, but choſen ſquadron, commanded by the lord Anſon. Lord Harcourt was received with uncommon ſplendour; and

a guard of men remarkable for their ſtature and fine appearance were appointed him.

Rejoicings on that occaſion.

THE next morning the contract was no ſooner ſigned than the cannon were fired, and this was ſucceeded by the compliments of the ſtates of the country, and the deputies of the towns, and in the evening the gardens of the caſtle were illuminated with above forty thouſand lamps. In this and the following feſtivals, the ſplendid appearance made by the houſe of Mecklenburg, far exceeded the expectations, and even the ideas of ſome who had viſited the moſt powerful courts in Europe.

IN the mean time, the inhabitants of Strelitz, deſirous of expreſſing their regard to her majeſty, in a manner which might tranſmit their ſentiments to their children, had erected, in a plain between their town and New Strelitz, through which her majeſty was to paſs in her way to Hamburg, a triumphal arch thirty-two feet in height, adorned in front with two pillars, and on each ſide of theſe pillars, with two bowers and a tent, well provided with a variety of refreſhments for the ſpectators. Cloſe to this arch was a platform four hundred paces long, capable of containing the three companies of the town militia in military array.

THE triumphal arch was decorated with natural foliage and feſtoons, and crowned with two terreſtrial globes, exhibiting the ſeveral parts of the earth. On one globe was ſeen Europe, Aſia, and Africa; and on the other America. In Europe, Great Britain and Ireland were incircled with a wreath of laurel; and the Havel paſſing by Mirow, the birth-place of her majeſty, and running into the Elbe, was likewiſe particularly diſtinguiſhed. In the other quarters of the earth, the coaſt of Coromandel, and the town of Pondicherry; the river Senegal, and at its mouth, fort Lewis; the iſlands of Guadaloupe, Dominica, and Marigalante; the rivers St. Laurence and Miſſiſippi, and the town of Quebec, on the former, were all marked with capital letters, to denote their having been reduced by the Britiſh arms. Theſe globes were ſurmounted with the arms of

of Great Britain and Mecklenburg joined. On the back of the arch were repreſented ſpring and autumn, with their attributes of flowers and ripe fruits, with an inſcription to the following effect.

Pomona ſoon ſuceeds to Flora,
And the bridal chamber ſuperſedes the grave.

On the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, the princeſs, accompanied by the reigning duke, and her brother prince Charles, ſet out with their attendants for Mirow, forming a noble cavalcade, of many coaches and ſix, attended by running footmen, a body of horſe-guards, and about thirty other coaches cloſed the cavalcade. The plain through which they paſſed, and the ſides of the neighbouring hills, were crowded with ſpectators in carriages and on horſeback, and among them were the magiſtrates of Strelitz.

The cavalcade, on its arrival at the platform, found the town militia drawn up under arms, with their colours flying, and at the arch, burgomaſter Tangatz, who was charged with the laſt compliments of the corporation and citizens to the princeſs. But what formed the moſt agreeable part of this ſcene, was a choſen band of young girls, between eleven and twelve years of age, who ſtood neatly dreſſed in white jackets and petticoats, and light-blue ribbons, with their hair adorned with flowers, each holding in her hand a ſmall wreath of myrtle.

The princeſs was pleaſed to ſtop under the triumphal arch, to receive the ſolemn farewel of her countrymen; when the above burgomaſter addreſſed her in the following ſpeech, a copy of which that gentleman was ſo kind as to favour us with, when we viſited Mecklenburg.

"Illuſtrious ducheſs, moſt gracious princeſs and lady, your "royal highneſs is at preſent leaving that country, whoſe hap- "pineſs it has hitherto been to admire in you the model of a "perfect princeſs. You leave it to ſhare, with the greateſt "monarch in Europe, a throne reſpected through every part "of the univerſe. The inſtant is at hand when your royal "highneſs will, for ever, be withdrawn from our eyes. This

"affects

"affects us the more ſenſibly, from the apprehenſion that the "many great and brilliant objects with which you will hence-"forth be encircled, will efface ſo ſmall a place as ours from "your inеſtimable remembrance; yet that goodneſs which we "have hitherto with tranſport admired in your royal highneſs, "revives our ſpirits: it aſſures us that you will, even from the "throne, condeſcend graciouſly to look back on our town, and "and continue the patroneſs of thoſe, whoſe happineſs it is to "be the ſubjects of your illuſtrious family. We, therefore, in "full confidence, give ourſelves up to that lively joy exited in "us all, on the glorious union to which the divine Providence "has called your royal highneſs, and beg leave to accompany "you with our moſt cordial wiſhes for your ſafe journey, and "continual welfare and proſperity.

"MAY the eternal ruler of all things, who hath appointed "this great event, make your highneſs the moſt perfect "inſtance of felicity; the delight of that royal family into "which you are now entering, the joy of Britain, and the "glory of the illuſtrious houſe of Mecklenburg.

"MAY our illuſtrious ſovereign, the beloved ADOLPHUS "FREDERICK, together with his faithful and happy ſubjects, "long rejoice in your felicity.

"YOUR royal highneſs will graciouſly permit, that twelve "of our daughters, here preſent in the attire of innocence, may, "as a memorial of this fortunate event, ſeond the ardent ſen-"timents of their fathers, and in artleſs words moſt humbly "wiſh you a ſafe and pleaſant journey."

ACCORDINGLY, her majeſty condeſcended, with the moſt endearing complacency, to make a farther ſtop, and hear theſe pretty prieſteſſes of Hymen alternately ſing ſome congratulatory verſes, which concluded with the following chorus:

Yet for one favour more we muſt apply,
But little can theſe barren tracts ſupply;
Permit us, ſince both gold and pearls you ſcorn,
Your royal brows with myrtle to adorn.

ON

On repeating the laſt words, they all, at once, with a moſt graceful reſpect and ſprightlineſs, put their myrtle wreaths into the coach at the feet of the princeſs.

As this was a compliment, which, for it its elegance and ſimplicity, was worthy of the beſt ages of Greece, we may well imagine with what pleaſure it was received by a princeſs, who herſelf would have been an ornament to thoſe ages. Accordingly, ſhe expreſſed an uncommon degree of ſatisfaction, in thoſe gracious terms which were ever natural to her, and by which in her tender years ſhe had conciliated the unalterable love and eſteem of all ranks. And the earl of Harcourt, who with his ſon, was obſerved to view the emblem over the triumphal arch, and the children in particular, with ſenſible pleaſure, kindly put a ducat into the hand of each of them, as a memorial of the ſolemnity; and, likewiſe as an acknowledgment of the handſome manner in which they had acted their parts.

The day following, being the eighteenth, her majeſty arrived at Perliberg, in the Pruſſian territories, where ſhe was complimented by the count de Gotten, in the name of his Pruſſian majeſty, who had, beſides, ordered that no money ſhould be taken for any of the horſes or carriages attending the princeſs. But, on her reaching the bounds of the Pruſſian territories, ſhe generouſly ordered a conſiderable ſum to be given to the Pruſſian hunters who had eſcorted her.

On the nineteenth, the princeſs proceeded, by the way of Lutzen for Gourde, where ſhe dined twice in public, and walked in the afternoon in the park. In the boat in which her majeſty was obliged to croſs a branch of the Elbe, was fixed a table covered with all ſorts of fruit. As there was no houſe on the other ſide, huts were prepared for her attendants, and a grand tent for herſelf, in which ſhe dined. The dinner was provided for three hundred perſons, by his majeſty's cooks, who came from Hanover for that purpoſe. At Buxtehude ſhe was addreſſed by the fellowſhip of merchant adventurers of England, reſiding at Hamburg, and gave them a moſt gracious reception.

On

On the twenty-second, at seven in the evening, she entered Stade, under a general discharge of the cannon of the place, and amidst the acclamations of a vast crowd of people, both inhabitants and foreigners. The whole body of the burghers received her majesty under arms, or lined the streets through which she passed, and some of the principal ladies of the town presented her majesty with verses on her approaching nuptials, on velvet cushions. Here her majesty was delivered by the ladies of Mecklenburg, who had hitherto attended her, into the hands of the duchesses of Hamilton and Lennox, who had waited her arrival here. By nine o'clock, the whole town was illuminated, and several triumphal arches erected in the principal streets, with emblems and inscriptions suitable to the occasion; and the universal joy which prevailed at possessing such a princess, and the consort of such a monarch was expressed by a great variety of the most elegant devices.

On the twenty-fifth, about ten in the morning, she took shipping there, amidst the acclamations of a vast crowd of spectators, and was saluted by the guns of the squadron which was to convoy her, and were ranged on both sides of her yacht for that purpose. As soon as she entered her cabin, she graciously saluted the officers of the different ships, who had crouded their decks to have the satisfaction to see her, and were all enchanted with the uncommon mixture of dignity and affability of which her behaviour was composed.

The princess embarks for England.

On the twenty-eighth the fleet put to sea; and, at length, after three different storms, and being often in sight of the English coast, and as often in danger of being driven on that of Norway, arrived at Harwich on the sixth of September. During this tedious and dangerous passage, the length of which alone might be supposed capable of affecting a princess of her majesty's years, who had never before seen the sea, she continued in good health and spirits, often amusing herself at her harpsichord in practising English tunes; and, by every word and action, endearing herself to those who were honoured with the care of her person.

In the mean time, the king being under great concern leſt the tediouſneſs of the voyage ſhould affect her health; and being alſo deſirous that his nuptials might precede the day appointed for his coronation, which now drew near, orders were ſent to the admiral to ſail at all events, and land his charge at the firſt port of Great Britain, where he could do it with ſafety. As it had been intended that the princeſs ſhould land at Greenwich, every other place of reſort for the purpoſes of health and pleaſure was deſerted in favour of it; both ſides of the Thames, for many miles below London, were lined with longing ſpectators, and the river itſelf filled with veſſels of all ſizes, crowded with paſſengers, eager to meet and welcome their future queen.

The fleet arriving at Harwich in the night, the princeſs ſlept on board, and it was even thought proper that ſhe ſhould continue there, till, in conſequence of an expreſs ſent to London with the joyful news, every thing could be ſettled for her progreſs. This was greatly facilitated by the general meaſures taken for that purpoſe, when orders were ſent to lord Anſon, to land the princeſs at the firſt Britiſh port he could make. Accordingly ſhe came on ſhore at three the next afternoon, and was received by the mayor and aldermen of Harwich with the uſual formalities. The princeſs then proceeded to Colcheſter, where ſhe ſtopped to drink tea at Mr. Enew's, and then proceeding to Witham, alighted at lord Abercorn's, where an elegant entertainment was provided, and here ſhe ſpent the night. The next day the princeſs ſtopped at Rumford, where ſhe was met by his majeſty's own coaches, and ſervants, with a party of guards, who conducted her to the garden-gate of St. James's palace; the ſame evening the marriage ceremony was performed with great ſplendour, and on the twenty-ſecond of the following month, they were ſolemnly crowned king and queen of Great Britain. During that auguſt ceremony, their majeſties, to uſe the words of a celebrated Britiſh hiſtorian*, "maintained their

* Smollett.

" importance in the eyes and bosoms of all the spectators, who " could not, without the most lively emotions of admiration " and joy, behold such attractive accomplishments in the royal " pair, whose virtues adorned the crown they were destined " to wear; he, like Titus, the delight of every eye; and she " the fairest pattern of sweetness and complacency."

FINIS.